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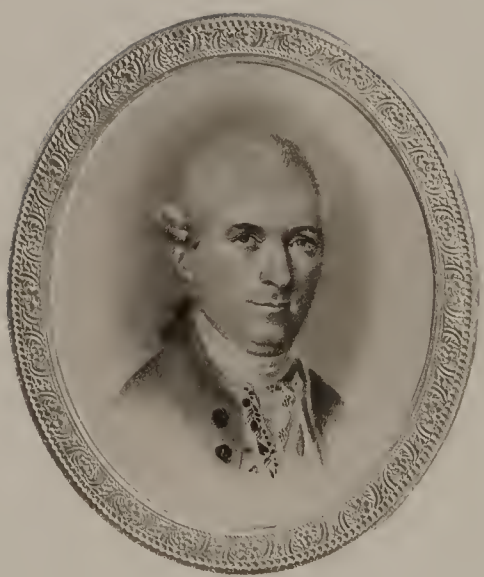

Silas Deane,

from a miniature painted in France

ARTOTYPE, E. BIERSTADT, N. Y.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE most important of the heretofore unpublished papers of Mr. Deane are the property of his granddaughter, Mrs. Isabella Thomas, of Norwich, Connecticut, who, in 1887, permitted Mr. Charles Isham to copy them for reference in writing a memoir on the Life and Times of that eminent and misjudged man.

This memoir was submitted in 1889 to the Committee on History of the Graduate Department of Harvard University, and was accompanied by those papers, together with a selection from the published and unpublished Deane papers of the Connecticut Historical Society, and from the Sparks and Lee Manuscripts in the Library of Harvard University. Since that time the collection has been greatly augmented, and as now printed, every paper is identified.

Thanks are especially due to Mrs. Thomas for allowing the use of the mass of Deane's private correspondence, and of all his letter books, except the two secured by Thomas Jefferson, and apparently lost, and also for the portrait of Deane, reproduced from a miniature in her possession. The editor is, moreover, very much indebted to Mr. Winsor and Mr. Kiernan, of the Harvard University Library, and to Dr. Trumbull and Mr. Gay, of the Connecticut Historical Society.

Mr. John Jay and Mr. George Clinton Genet have shown a kindly interest in the work, and have contrib-

uted important material, while several letters were obtained through the courtesy of Dr. Samuel A. Green of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Professor Dexter of Yale University, and Mr. John Durand of Paris. The "facsimiles" of Mr. Stevens almost come under the head of manuscript, and, because of their rarity, the same distinction may be accorded to the files of old newspapers. Other printed sources are familiar to all students of the War of Independence. This collection entirely follows the originals or their copies, from which the text is printed.

The notes and translations from the French and the cipher are by Mr. Isham, and the Index by Mr. William Kelby of the New York Historical Society. Three volumes will complete the collection as it stands, but in case the promise of further matter is realized, a fourth volume will be added.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF SILAS DEANE.

Silas Deane, son of Silas, was born Dec. 24th, 1737, at Groton, Connecticut, where his family had resided since 1712. The elder Silas inherited a homestead and his trade, that of a blacksmith, from his father John, and sent his son to Yale College. Young Silas graduated in 1758, and was admitted to the Bar in 1761. In 1763, he married the widow of Joseph Webb, settled in Wethersfield, near Hartford, and engaged in the West India trade, thus becoming known to many large merchants throughout the Colonies.

His first wife died in 1767, and his second marriage—to a grand-daughter of Governor Saltonstall—connected him with a prominent Connecticut family. He had entered public life in 1768, as a representative from his town to the Connecticut General Assembly, and sympathized with the growing resentment against the enforcement by the British Parliament of laws restricting the free development of American commerce.

When the Connecticut merchants declared non-intercourse against the merchants of Newport, charging the latter with infractions of the non-importation agreement, designed to coerce England into a fuller acknowledgment of American rights, Deane was clerk of their meeting, and signed, in that capacity, their circular, dated Feb. 20th, 1774.

The Connecticut Committee of Correspondence, organized in 1773, found in Deane so efficient a secretary that he was designated by them to represent the Colony at the Continental Congress of 1774, in company with Sherman and Dyer. He there advocated a union of the Colonies, sufficiently strong to suppress disorder and secure unanimity among the Whigs, in case resistance to British authority was to be the outcome of the deliberations then in progress, nor did he believe that the British Government would make the concessions necessary to avoid a conflict.

Before the re-assembling of Congress, in 1775, whither Deane, Sherman, and Dyer were again sent—this time by the General Assembly—Connecticut had been credited with a master stroke, due in great measure to the activity of Deane.

Consulting with Parsons, Leffingwell, and Col. Wyllys, he had planned the capture of Ticonderoga, and despatched Allen, Mott, and Phelps to execute the move. The money to equip the expedition was also procured by Deane and his associates, who gave their personal notes for the sum advanced from the Treasury of the Colony.

Congress reorganized on May 10th, 1775, and Deane was soon laboring incessantly as a member of many of the most important committees. He was appointed with Schuyler to consider means for supplying the Colonies with military stores, and, with Washington, to estimate the cost of equipping an army. He moreover drew up Rules for the Continental navy, and on the 17th of Oct., 1775, he selected and purchased the first vessel commissioned for the Service.

In the Committee of Secresy, organized on Sept. 18th, 1775, he had among his colleagues, Robert Morris. The object of this Committee was to purchase arms and munitions abroad. Deane accepted a contract for this purpose, and in December he learned from Morris, who was also a member of The Committee of Secret Correspondence, which was, virtually, the Department of State of the Congress, that the merchants of the Committee of Secresy had recommended him to Franklin and the other members of the Committee of Secret Correspondence, and that he would be asked to make a voyage to France, on a diplomatic as well as a commercial errand.

This mission he was the more willing to assume, since the Connecticut General Assembly had not again elected him to the Congress. Although held in high esteem at Philadelphia, Deane was not on good terms with Sherman and Dyer. He had objected to several items in the Accounts of Connecticut against Congress, and had strongly supported Putnam for a generalship in the Continental Army, and thus antagonized the friends of Spencer; besides he had neglected local for national politics.

When his appointment came from the Committee of Secret Correspondence, he regarded it as a vindication of his course at Philadelphia, and sailing on the 5th of March, he arrived in France the 4th of May, 1776.

Already Vergennes, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, had decided that the loss of her American Colonies would destroy the naval supremacy of England, and that to assist America to become independent was, in itself, an important object of French diplomacy.

He had obtained the consent of the King to a system of aids, under color of a mercantile transaction, to be conducted

by Beaumarchais, who was really the originator of the plan, and who was then waiting for a responsible agent of the Colonies, with whom to begin operations.

Upon presenting his credentials to Vergennes, Deane's diplomatic mission, relating to an acknowledgment by France of the sovereignty of the Colonies, in the event of their declaring their independence of Great Britain, was put aside, but in the matter of obtaining supplies and arms for America, he was distinctly referred to the commercial house represented by Beaumarchais, and subsidized by the King.

It does not appear that Deane ever knew the exact relations of Beaumarchais to the French Government. After the Declaration of Independence, and upon the arrival of Franklin and Lee as joint Commissioners with him to the Court of France, he was engrossed in the delicate task of forwarding the supplies to America and regulating, at the ports, the conduct of the American agents, some of whom were not of his appointment and wholly irresponsible.

The efforts of the three Commissioners to obtain Treaties of Alliance and of Amity and Commerce from France were retarded by the anxiety of the Court to strengthen the French Navy for the war with England, that, it was foreseen, must follow compliance with the demands of the Commissioners; and further, by the unsuccessful efforts of Vergennes to induce Spain to join France in concluding treaties with the United States. However, before the report of the capture of Burgoyne had reached Paris, Vergennes had determined to declare for America, and, on the news of that victory, conferences began and ended on February 6th, 1778, in the signing of the treaties.

On the 4th of March, Deane received notice from Congress of his recall, accompanied by the request that he embrace the first opportunity of returning to America, ostensibly to inform Congress of the state of their affairs abroad. The real explanation of the action of Congress he knew to be the credit given by that body to accusations involving Franklin as well as himself, and emanating from their fellow Commissioner Arthur Lee.

Some of these charges could not be refuted without offending the French Court and setting Congress by the ears, and at first he hesitated to obey the summons, but, following Franklin's advice, he embarked on d'Estaing's fleet with M. Gérard, the French Minister to the United States, and arrived at Philadelphia on the flagship, July 11th, 1778; an entry well calculated to exasperate the Lee party. His per-

sistent efforts to obtain a hearing from Congress resulted in the granting of two audiences and the discovery that he was being held in attendance until some proofs of misconduct could be cited against him.

Of the many allegations to his discredit, only one was serious—that he had used his agency to advance his private interests. In fact, he had reduced his fortune in the attempt to conduct his private business in the intervals of his public duties, or by intrusting his own affairs to the management of others.

The almost peremptory request for his return, and the suddenness of his departure for America, had not allowed him time to collect vouchers scattered through the agencies at the French ports; yet his statement of his accounts was frank and accurate, and he depended on their passing Congress, with his commissions, to escape poverty.

When he believed that the consideration of his case would be indefinitely postponed, and that he would not be again employed abroad, he responded to the attacks of his enemies in an address. An acrimonious discussion in the public prints ensued, and after a year of controversy, in which many prominent men took part, and the most important affairs of the nation were treated as secondary to personal quarrels, Deane was discharged from further attendance on Congress, and declined a sum of ten thousand five hundred dollars in depreciated paper, offered to him for his expenses.

No charge of irregularity on his part had been proved. On the contrary, it seemed that Congress was avoiding the settlement of an inconvenient claim. He left America, June 14th, being assured that his accounts would be audited, upon their presentation with vouchers, and arrived in France, for the second time, July 27, 1780.

Franklin offered him lodging in Paris, and for a while Deane availed himself of this generosity. He afterwards removed to Ghent, since he did not wish to be a burden on his friend. His accounts were now completed, and a statement submitted to Mr. Barclay, the United States Auditor in Europe. No relief came to Deane when these papers were transmitted to America; meanwhile, the distressing state of his own affairs, together with a change, as he supposed, in French policy, unfavorable to the independence of the United States, filled his mind with the most dismal forebodings. He had seen Congress rent by selfish factions, and, in his opinion, conducting the country to anarchy over the ruin of the public credit.

These views he embodied in letters to his acquaintances in America. Had he confined himself to declaring that independence was hardly to be won, he would have gone no further than many of his cotemporaries of undoubted patriotism ; but his argument in these letters was framed to suggest that independence was not desirable, because it could be achieved only by supreme exertion and maintained with the greatest difficulty.

During his excellent service as a Commissioner to the Court of France he had often gained his point with Vergennes by representing that unless America was liberally sustained with supplies and an alliance, Congress must accept terms from England. He now advocated reunion with England in return for concessions that might, in 1775, have prevented the war, and to avoid a dreaded dependency on France.

Many of these letters came into the hands of the English, and were published by Rivington, at intervals, throughout the years 1781 and 1782, in the New York *Royal Gazette.* Before the last of them appeared, Cornwallis and his army were prisoners; and Deane, whose reputation had been on bail, was cited and condemned as a traitor at the bar of public opinion.

Bribery was systematically resorted to by George III., and doubtless there was a proposition to purchase Deane when his dissatisfaction was known, but the remainder of his life did not criminate him ; for had he sold himself to avoid destitution or to gain any manner of preferment, he would not have endured misery and obscurity to avoid detection. After the peace he came to London, in April, 1783, intending to obtain employment by attracting capital to the development of the natural resources of America. In October of the same year, he wrote an address to the American people, endeavoring to explain his letters and prepare the way for his return. This was subsequently printed in England and the United States.

Deane never doubted that an impartial examination would remove the imputation on his honesty in all transactions with his Government. In 1842, his heirs obtained $37,000 from Congress upon a re-examination of his papers, and on the ground that the former unfavorable audit, made when Lee had returned from France and was a commissioner of accounts, was "*ex-parte*, erroneous, and a gross injustice to Mr. Deane."

Soon after reaching England Deane became dependent upon charity. His wife had died during his first absence from America, and he was then joined in Paris by his only

son and child, who remained in Europe until the removal from Holland to England, when his father, wishing him to become an American merchant, sent the boy to Hartford, where he could avail himself of the assistance of an uncle and of Mr. Sebor, a trusted friend.

While sick and helpless, in 1788, Deane was robbed of a part of his papers, which were sold to Mr. Jefferson, then United States minister to France. Upon rising from this illness he became even more anxious to reach America. The Canadian Government was then entertaining a scheme of his to connect the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain by a canal, and in Canada he would be near home in case the sentiment of his former associates permitted him to return.

On the 22d of September, 1789, he left London to meet the Boston packet. The next morning he embarked in high spirits, but soon after the ship sailed he was attacked by paralysis and died the same afternoon, while the vessel lay in the harbor of Deal. His body was conveyed on shore for interment; the vessel then continued her voyage, and Silas Deane had been disappointed for the last time.

CHARLES ISHAM.

July 1, 1892.

THE DEANE PAPERS.

VOL. I.

1774–1777.

THE DEANE PAPERS.

To Governor Trumbull.

Wethersfield, August 16, 1774.

Sir,—I shall make no apology for the trouble I am about to give you, as the publick service requires that the Representatives of this Colony should be perfectly masters, not only of the present, but past state of it, and its publick transactions. I hoped to have obtained from the Custom Houses, the number and size of the shipping, as well as a general state of the imports and exports, and accordingly applied; but they appear at present unwilling to give me any information on the subject, I suppose on account of the present situation of publick affairs, and the part I have taken therein. I conclude that some return has been made in consequence of a late requisition, and that you are possessed of it. This will perhaps answer my purpose on that head. The extracts made by your Honour from Governour Winthrop's manuscript Diary, I think may be of consequence, and, therefore, ask the loan of them, or such extracts or parts as you judge most deserving of notice, but I prefer the whole of what you lent me last Spring. The extracts made from the records of the United Colonies, put into my hands last February, at Hartford, and which I delivered to the Reverend Mr. Trumbull, may throw light on many

of the early and important transactions of New England. These are two of the most material and certain sources of intelligence, relating to the first principles on which these Colonies were settled, and their conduct thereon, and, therefore, wish to be possessed of them, as well as of every thing else which you can in so short a time prepare and convey to me. The expectation I had of the pleasure of Captain Trumbull's company must excuse my not sending earlier for these papers. I have taken from the Secretary's office a copy of Charles the Second's letter, which is the only ancient authority of any consequence to the present controversy that I know of in his possession. I wish the modern ones were preserved in a different manner than what they are, or rather that they were preserved at all.

It is disagreeable to me to recriminate at any time; it is generally unavailing; and at the present time I know should not be permitted, but on certain prospect of better regulations for the future, but when I review the history and transactions of this Colony, and consider what immense sums must have been expended, not only in settling but defending this part of his Majesty's territories and the neighbouring Colonies (I am confident, to the amount of many millions), and can find no authentick record kept of it, I have scarce any patience left, but indignation and chagrin rise equal with my grief at so fatal an omission; especially as our enemies boldly assert that we have expended nothing but what we have been largely repaid for, and we have no record to contradict them. An omission of this nature in the infant state of a Colony, struggling with the hardness of a new uncultivated soil, and under continual alarms from the savages, is in a degree excusable, the more so, as they could not so much as dream of having their title to the country, and their privileges and immunities in it ever disputed by any, save an open declared enemy; but what excuse let me ask with

submission, can be made for neglecting to preserve the exact account of the charge of the last war? I was really surprised, on examining at Hartford, to find that no accounts could be procured either at the Secretary's or Treasurer's, and that I must be left to conjecture on this material point, and of course liable to contradiction beyond a possibility of supporting any assertion on the subject. Some have thought your Honour may have the account; if so, I must pray you to send it by the bearer, with the other papers you shall favour me with. Before I dismiss this subject, on which you must excuse my freedom, give me leave to suggest to your Honour, whether it may not be a reasonable step to lay before the next Assembly the propriety, and even necessity, of preserving accounts, and the history of transactions of this kind, in some publick office, for our own as well as the information of posterity. The Office Letters to and from the Governour, and the Journal of the House, are of more importance in my view, and will hereafter be more relied on when a reference is needed to the sense of former times, on any subject, than all the other records put together; yet neither of these are preserved in any office, nor indeed any where else, that I can find; at least, they are in private cabinets, but much the greatest part have been long since used for wrappers; and several important letters to and from the late Governour Saltonstall have been sent me by the family round garden seeds and the like; letters that would not only do honour to him, but prove of service to the Colony, were they preserved; and surely we as well as our posterity have a right to these letters and journals. We have, as I may say, a property in them, being written by persons in our employ, and on our account. I leave the thought with your Honour to be improved or thrown by, as you shall judge proper. The post waiting, I have no time to write Colonel Williams; must therefore ask the favour of you to procure of him the Resolutions of

the House of Representatives attested, enclosed in the packet you send me.

I am with the highest esteem and respect, your Honour's much obliged, and most humble servant,

SILAS DEANE.

The Honourable Jonathan Trumbull, Esq.,
Governour, &c., Lebanon.

P. S. Messrs. Cushing, Adams, Paine, and Adams called on me yesterday in their way to Philadelphia. I purpose setting out next Monday, and have ordered the bearer of this to wait your commands.

Force's American Archives, 4th Series, I., 710.

FROM GURDON SALTONSTALL.

Wethersfield, August 29th 1774.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor last week from N. H. [New Haven] and this Town recd, and Saturday morning I bro't Mrs Saltonstall hither, to tarry with your Spouse, who, Sally tells me, is better than when you left her. Refer to her letter, accompanying this, for particular account. Doctr Gale [is] expected this day or to-morrow; his Bror George Eliot being extremely sick has prevented his coming hitherto.

Your letter yesterday agreeably entertained us with your journal as far as Kingsbridge.

The Quebeck Act is the finishing stroke for the Ministry. That the Roman Catholic Religion is there establish'd does not surprise me; you well know that it has been my opinion for many years, that was at the bottom of the Ministerial System; and that it should make its appearance at this Juncture is most fortunate for America and G. Britain also.

This will make Britains see, the Acts to abridge American Liberty were preparatory to the alteration of the British Constitution at home and abroad, and therefore they will throw their interest into the American scale.

The Hisses and Groans, &c., and the men of fashion appearing amongst the Crowd and their Huzzaing D. of G—r for ever, when the King was going to Parliament House, is truly alarming. Verily it is probable the Nation at home will soon relieve themselves and the Americans from their repeated injurys. However, Americans must exert their own powers, and not depend on Britain. The harmony throughout the Continent is daily increasing, and the Zeal for the Common Cause rises in same proportion.

Hartford has sent N. L. [New London] County a proposal for non-consumption Agreem^{t}. It was rec^{d} the moment I left N. L., and will not be acted upon until my return ; and no doubt we shall resolve not to act at this juncture, but submit the matter to the wisdom of the Congress. I shall not return until [I] have seen Doc^{r} Gale.

I am with esteem
Y^{r} most oblig^{d} humble ser^{t},
G. SALTONSTALL.

Silas Deane, Esq.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 142.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

My Dear,—We left the Bridge,* where I closed my last, after dinner, and baiting by the way, arrived in Town at six. Wm. Hubbard and Doc^{r} Turner overtook us at the Bridge, bound for Philadelphia, so that we now made a considerable string on the road. Instantly on our alighting at Hull's, Mr. Bayard came up, and without allowing us to shift our linen (apprehensive of something like this I shifted mine at the Bridge, before dinner), he forced us directly to the Exchange, where were the Boston Delegates, two from S. Carolina, and all the gentlemen of considerable note in the city in the mercantile way, where they had dined, and were

* King's Bridge.

then passing round the glass. They appeared in the highest possible spirits, on our introduction. But though we read that the presence of a friend enlighteneth the countenance, yet the brilliancy of this circle might by us, without any violence to our vanity, be as well attributed to something else. We went the round of introduction and congratulation, and then took our seats. The glass had circulated just long enough to raise the spirits of every one just to that nice point which is above disguise or suspicion, especially in persons any way generously disposed. Of consequence, I saw instantly that it was an excellent opportunity to know their real sentiments. Cool myself, I was not afraid of sharing in the jovial entertainment; therefore, after introduction, I wav'd the formality of sitting at the upper part among my brother Delegates, and mixed among the gentlemen of the City. Here was McEvers, Alsop, Bache, Sherbrook, Sharp, &c., &c. I soon found that parties ran excessively high in the City. Here were none of the Broomes, Sears, McDougall, or any of them, yet I found many favorable to the Cause we were upon, and willing to go almost any length, while others were in reality against doing anything at all. I found they were fond of paying great court to Connecticut, and consequently could easily find out the reason without the art of divination. We broke up at nine, and retired to our Lodgings. Mr. Sherman is clever in private, but I will only say he is as badly calculated to appear in such a Company as a chestnut-burr is for an eye-stone. He occasioned some shrewd countenances among the company, and not a few oaths, by the odd questions he asked, and the very odd and countrified cadence with which he speaks; but he was, and did, as well as I expected. These are good Lodgings, but I have relished nothing in the City since I entered it, being taken with a dysentery, which however I think is wearing off. The next morning we breakfasted with Mr. Sherbrooke,—that is, Col. Dyer and myself, only. He went with us to fit us with clothes. I am not well suited, but took the

best I could find. The more I converse in the City, the more I see and lament the virulence of party. As charity thinketh no evil of its neighbor, party spirit is quite even with it, for it is sure to think no good. We have waived invitations, and dined and supped at our Lodgings yesterday, but to-day we go to Hobuck with Mr. Bayard. This would be taken rather ill, but to make amends, we dine and go to meeting with John Broome to-morrow. It is not yet settled who will represent this province, though y^e^ Congress begins next Thursday. The Counties have assented [to] the doings of this City, and have chosen delegates for themselves, part of whom are now in the City. We set out early on Monday, and should do it with pleasure could I hear how your health recovers. Remember me to Sally, Hannah, Jesse, Jos. Webb, &c., &c. The people need not be afraid for us. I can assure them, from what I learn from the Southward, there will be spirit enough at the Congress. As to affairs at home, I think of nothing new. Should Simeon return, wish he would write me how he has made out in his voyage. I have seen Mr. Livingston, and will write him, Simeon, a letter, after further conversation with him; and I mean to leave here a letter for Jos. Webb and Barz^i^ Deane, but cannot write it this day. Jn° Wright buys and brings for me one doz. best Watermelons. Shall fill this side before I leave the City, therefore Adieu.

We spent the day agreeably at Mr. Bayard's, with some of the delegates and a good old stand-by on festival occasions, Mr. J. Chew.

Sunday. Heard parson Treat in the forenoon, and Mr. Ledlie in afternoon. I think the former much inferior to the latter. Doct^r^ Rogers is sick. Mr. Sherman (would to Heaven he were well at New Haven,) is against our sending our carriages over the ferry this evening, because it is Sunday; so we shall have a scorching sun to drive forty miles in, to-morrow. I wish I could send you his picture, and make it speak, and in the background paint the observations made on

him here. But enough of this at present. I will have him drawn in Philadelphia, if it can be done at any reasonable rate.

This will come under cover to your father at New London, to be forwarded by Knight. Pray omit nothing conducive to your health and peace of mind. I have been really ill until this afternoon, when the villainous carelessness of my tailor &c. has so awakened me that I feel well. He brings me home a suit of clothes quite unfit for me, so I had to set him to work anew, and wear my old ones, and now expect to be detained on his account in the morning. Doct^{r} Gale has wrote me, or rather sent me word, that he will attend you punctually, which I hope may be to your benefit. I go from hence with an additional weight on my spirits, by reason of the uncertainty I am and must remain in as to your health, and have wrote in the rambling manner I have, as much to relieve my own mind as to divert yours.

I am Your's, most affectionately,

SILAS DEANE.

New York, Monday morning,
29th of August. } [1774]

I wrote above that I sent this by way of New London, but on second thoughts will leave it for the Thursday's post, as you will receive it as soon within a few hours as by the other conveyance. I am really better, for I lay in bed the whole of last night, which I had not done before since I set out my Journey. We go forward in about an hour.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 143.

To MRS. ELIZABETH DEANE.

MY DEAR,—I parted with you as by letter, at New York, last Monday morning. As I expected, our delay or rather superstitious neglect of getting over our Carriages the preceding evening, brought us under the

mercy of the ferryman, who kept us until after ten that excessive hot day, and then part of us, not myself for one, assisted in rowing over, as it was a calm. On the western shore is a large elegant tavern, kept by Ellsworth, who married a Gale. She now has a number of children, three or four. I was now on a new journey, on a road new to me, and of course my attention was excited, the more so as I had often heard this country brought not only as a rival but in preference to Connecticut, by gentlemen from New York. Newark was the first Town, and to give it its full due it is a pretty one and the soil good and well cultivated, but is neither for buildings nor improvements nor natural soil equall to East Windsor. Here I called at a house where the Inn-keeper was acquainted with all Wethersfield and Hartford, having been three months under Doct^{r} Porter's care. He married a niece of Doct^{r} Gale's, as she told me. We went on and dined at Elizabeth's Town, at one Graham's. This is the prettiest Town since I left Connecticut; the best land and best improvement. Here live three of our brethren, the Delegates, (viz.) Mr. W. Livingston, Mr. S. Crane, and Mr. De Hart; but we did not call on them, but after dining proceeded to Woodbridge, ten miles, and there put up. Elizabeth is a Town in soil and buildings several degrees behind Middletown, and Woodbridge is rather a village, though with city privileges. We lodged tolerably, and rose at 4 o'clock, my disorder still following me closely. We pass'd Rariton Ferry, ten miles from Woodbridge, at seven o'clock. This is a small River, about twice the bigness of Middletown Little River, has a tide in it, and coasters come up thus far, as large as those to Rocky Hill in Wethersfield; here we breakfasted very indifferently. The town is tolerably clever, not equal to Middletown in bigness and as irregular as Norwich Landing; but they are all warm Sons of Liberty, which must atone for smaller matters. From hence it is seventeen miles to Princeton, where stands the New Jersey College, and this we rode by twelve [miles] through

a country that has nothing remarkable to distinguish it unless it be a thin soil, horse-teams, poor cattle, no good pastures; but plenty of grain, and the most evident marks of an industrious, frugal people. Princetown is a new town and, though the best situated to command a good air, has no good farm-houses and settlements.. The College is an elegant building of stone, well calculated, and to appearance well provided. The Tutors waited on us, but tutors and scholars are the same everywhere, so need not enlarge. The town is inferior by much to Colchester for soil, buildings and improvements, but the people are neat, and there is elegant entertainment for strangers at the taverns. Here the Jersey Delegates overtook and pass'd us. The weather extremely hot, without the least breath of air stirring. We rode no farther that afternoon than Trent Town, which is twelve miles further, and put up. Here a Connecticut clergyman, brother to Col. Spencer, is settled, who waited on us with the Delegates of the Province. For my part, I never underwent more to keep up my part of the conversation, when I wanted to be in bed, sick, worn out with the heat and dust, headache, and anxiety of mind; but so it was, I could not retire until past eleven, when, as fond as I am of sleep, the night and bed were worse to me than to have proceeded on my journey. I turn'd, and turn'd, and groan'd, while Judge Sherman, who lodged in the same chamber, snored in concert; [when morning came] I got up, wash'd my feet in hot water, and without eating a mouthful set out on my journey. This is the prettiest town I have seen in the Jerseys; is on the banks of the Delaware River, which is here shoal and rapid over rocks and falls, so that it has no benefit from navigation; but I think it is nearly as large a town as Wethersfield. I have now got through the Jerseys, and through this sheet of paper. Adieu.

I have omitted one ferry, which was the first we pass'd, but it was a mere trifle, as was the next, beyond Delaware, called Shammenoy, over a River discharging into the Delaware. The weather extremely hot, the

roads sandy, and my illness, together almost sunk me. The country has nothing lively or agreeable; one plain, mudd houses covered with straw, save here and there an elegant building; but the latter are scarce. We rode ten miles to Bristol, a village on the banks of the Delaware, most delightfully situated, having the River close by it, which is thus far navigable for large vessels, though none were here, and Burlington, the capital of the Jerseys, on the opposite shore, to the south of it, which appeared, at the distance of about three miles down the River, very pretty; but as to Bristol, there are not so many buildings as in Rockyhill, nor of so good appearance, though this is within seventeen miles of Philadelphia. Here we baited, and then pushed forward in extreme heat, to a tavern within six miles of Philadelphia; yet in the whole of this stage there was neither village nor country seat, nor anything by which a stranger would conclude himself near a Capital Trading City. The tavern appeared tolerable; had it been less so, we must have put up; but to our surprise here was no fruit, bad rum, and nothing of the meat kind but salt pork. I had now been destitute of food twenty-four hours, and consequently kept a severe though involuntary Fast on the day you fasted and prayed for us in Connecticut. I called for bread, cheese and porter. The latter they had none of, but of the former, though their cheese was both new and bad, I swallowed a few mouthfulls, and having excellent bottle-cyder, I mixed it with water and it proved a cordial to me. Sam[l] Webb knocked over three or four chickens and roasted them, but I could not taste them. We set out from thence for this City at five o'clock, and arrived at six. Mr. Dickinson, the Pennsylvania Farmer, has a pretty seat about two miles out of town on y[e] road, which, to my surprise, was the only one I saw deserving the name. Not a garden, nor the appearance of one, in the neighborhood of this city, equal to ours. This gave me a poor opinion of their vegetable market. Wheat fields crowd into the very squares of the City,

but as to grass and verdant meadows, there is more between Wethersfield and Hartford than in sixty miles on the road we came. The city standing on a plain, and but few steeples, you see nothing of it until you are in the midst of it. We drove up to a noted tavern, one Mr. Biddle's, and alighted. I called for coffee, and meeting with some former acquaintance my spirits recruited. Mr. Galloway very politely called on us, as did Dr. Smith. Fortunately, lodgings had been reserved for Col. Dyer and Doct^{r} Johnson. I took the bed reserved for the latter, and am well provided for at a widow lady's, one Mrs. House. Mr. Gadsen and son from Charlestown, S. Carolina, S. Webb, young Mr. Dyer, Mr. Arnold, and self, are the lodgers. Thus I have given you my journal down to Wednesday evening. Lem^{l} Deming is here, as is Tho^{s} Wilson.

Thursday. Col. Floyd and my Brother arrived. The city is full of people from abroad, and all the lodgings in town full, or engaged. This day is so excessive that I sit in my gown and write, for I dare not venture out much thro' fear of a return of my disorder, from which, thank God, I am now perfectly well. The Delegates from Virginia, Maryland, the Lower Counties, and New York, are not arrived. We spent this day in visiting those that are in town, and find them in high spirits, particularly the gentlemen from the Jerseys, and South Carolina. In the evening we met to the number of about thirty, drank a dish of coffee together, talked over a few preliminaries, and agreed to wait for the gentlemen not arrived, until Monday next, before we proceeded to business. This day, therefore,—Friday, I mean to ramble over the city and make my observations. To-morrow, am invited by Doc^{r} Smith, who is vastly sociable (or rather aims at it), to see the College and curiosities of the city, and in the afternoon I design for German Town, which they tell me is about six miles off, where I shall remember my stockings. I find but two things disagreeable as yet; the extreme heat in the city, and a

scarcity of a fruit, vegetable and fish market. The aspect of the inhabitants bespeaks them affable and clever, and the Friend, or Quaker habit was always agreeable to me. They have a strong partiality in favor of this city, and think nothing is equal to it in America, but I am not yet prepared to subscribe to their opinion. I traversed their market, this morning. Their mutton looks the best I ever saw. Their soil is fit for this, being dry and sandy. But though their meat is neatly dress'd, I saw no Connecticut beef, and could honestly prefer Hooker's cart for that article, to anything I saw here. There was not a fowl nor a fish in the whole market. Watermelons look'd tolerable, and were the only fruit worth buying. There were a few miserable pears, and peaches, and plumbs; and as to vegetables and roots, potatoes, green corn and cabbage comprised the whole in a manner, and these brought in a very indifferent order. You will begin to think me as guilty of partiality as the Philadelphians are said to be. They who think nothing is right but what is in this city and province think so too; nay, they look on me mad when I tell them that I have seen more good pasture, clover, meadow, oxen, and cows, in a circle of three miles in Connecticut, than is here to be met with in thirty; but it is true, and every New England man in the company tells them the same. But to-morrow is their market day, when we are to see great things; indeed, I begin to suspect we have travelled over the poorest part of their country. The people are really extremely civil, and vastly industrious; in both these I think they must take rank.

I find I must page my letter, or you will never be able to take the course of it. It is now Saturday morning. Yesterday arrived Capt. Jer[a] Wadsworth, in good health. In the afternoon came in the Virginia and Maryland delegates, and part of those from New York, so that we are almost complete. The Virginia and indeed all the Southern delegates appear like men of importance. We waited on, and were introduced to

them in the evening. They are sociable, sensible, and spirited men, and the short opport^{y} I had of attending to their conversation gives me the highest idea of their principles and character.

I attended the market this morning, and have no reason to alter my opinion in favor of the supplies of this city to those at New York. As I said before, their meat is brought in the neatest order and appearance, and their mutton exceeds, but in the whole market was nothing of the fish kind, and I scarcely saw any fowls of any kind, worth naming. Fruit of but few kinds and those very inferior, watermelons excepted, which you will think ought to be good when I tell you I saw them sold for two shillings each; and among their roots and vegetables, I saw none of the first quality, and none at all of several that we value. I saw no celery, not a root; no kind of sallads, one basket of endive excepted; no beans but what were fit to shell; and the cucumbers offered for sale, older than we ever eat them. The only vegetables or roots worth noticing are: cabbages and potatoes, good; turnips, carrotts, and radishes, as tough as a dry sandy soil will make them; but the red beets are good. The whole of their Market is in one street, and is near twelve hundred feet in length; the street is as wide as the Broad Street or Way in New York, and is as full as you can conceive of people, for about four hours. They expose horses, cattle and sheep, earthenware, stockings, &c. &c., in the market with other things, so that they really have an assortment; but everything without exception is dearer than at New York. Common price of butter, 16^{d} pr. lb. Their dry goods, as near as I can judge of them, are sold at the same in Philadelphia as at New York, only with the addition of the odds of the currency. They have the finest team horses I ever saw; there are teams here which could not be bought for two hundred pounds; but I was deceived as to the neatness or cheapness of their carriages. I went this day to a noted coachmaker and viewed his work, and asked his prices. A sulkey, thirty-

four pounds, without a top; a fall-back carriage like mine, fitted for but one horse, sixty pounds; and he asked me five pounds to new paint and gild mine; for which reason I shall bring it back *in statu quo*, as my money will hardly hold out at such a rate. I have just returned from viewing the College and Schools, and their furniture. They are clever, and Doct^r^ Smith was very polite in waiting on us from Connecticut.

On my return met with your Father, Mr. J. Webb, and Sally's letters, for which I thank them jointly and severally; and as this may be a kind of family letter, as I shall keep writing occasionally until next Monday, it must answer instead of writing to them individually. I advise J. Webb to make the insurance on the Brig^a^ at least, and cover his as well as my interest. I rejoice at your better health; may it still be mended and fully restored by the time of my return, of which I dare not yet say one word, or even think. I inform my friends that we are in high spirits, if it is possible to be really so when the eyes of millions are upon us, and who consider themselves and their posterity interested in our conduct. But the prospect of unanimity among ourselves, and of support from our countrymen, greatly serves to animate us in the arduous task before us, which is as arduous, and of as great consequence as ever men undertook and engaged in. This City and province I have hopes will be firm and resolute, though there are not wanting enemies to the general Cause, and who, aided by party, are restless in their endeavors to defeat or retard our proceedings. The City have offered us the Carpenters Hall, so called, to meet in, and Mr. Galloway offers the State House and insists on our meeting there, which he says he has a right to offer as Speaker of that House. The last is evidently the best place, but as he offers, the other party oppose. This will be determined on Monday, when I shall add the intermediate occurrences and forward my letter. I spend the remainder of the day out of town.

Sunday Morning. We had a pleasant ride about six

miles north-west from the City, to the Falls of the Schuylkill River, which is a pretty, romantic place, and there are seven or eight pretty seats on the road ; some of them but just begun, and none so completed as to be brought into comparison with those near New York. Here we met with Doct[r] Smith again, who you will begin to think by this time is everywhere, and indeed I think him a most extraordinary compound. Wm. Hubbard, Doc[t] Turner, Jer[a] Wadsworth, B. Deane, Col. Dyer and myself, from Connecticut ; Wm. Livingston, Mr. Jay, Mr. Crane, and Col. Floyd, from N. York and the Jersies ; with Mr. Patterson, the Collector, were present. In conversation last evening at the coffee-house with Gentlemen of the first character in the Province, and of Mr. Ingersoll's acquaintance, I find his conduct very much condemned in this city, even by Prerogative men themselves, or those who might be stiled such.

Waiting for my barber, I have wrote thus far ; will only add that Ja[s] Rivington's paper was yesterday agreed to be stopped by a great number of the Gentlemen of this City, and a subscription come into which will doubtless be universal. Tell Jo[s] Webb to promote the same throughout Connecticut, and to put it forward. I have wrote to the Committee of Correspondence at Hartford, the enclosed letter, which I desire him to read, then copy, and deliver ; and I wish him to write to Isaac Beers and others at N. Haven on the same subject, as I think we ought to unite in punishing so great a scoundrel as he appears to be.

We set out this morning for Meeting, but Col. Dyer, who is one of the worst men in the world at recollecting streets, distances or stages, instead of leading towards Mr. Sproat's Meeting (where more out of complaisance to our countrymen, than from a belief that we should meet with the best of sermons, we determined to pay our first devotions,) he led the right contrary way. Passing two or three streets, he began to suspect his error, but on enquiring for Mr. Sproat's, the honest man

asked if it was the Presbyterian, and then told us we were right; on this, on we went, two or three streets more, until inquiry was in vain, for we had got beyond the knowledge either of Mr. Sproat or his meeting. The Col. fretted and I laughed at him, though vexed enough, I confess, to find ourselves thus foolishly swamp'd, when had we accompanied our fellow-lodgers we might have gone to hear either Mr. De Jay [Duché] or Mr. Coombs, both eminent men. At length coming to the south-west extremity of the City, I proposed to the Col. that we would get a Cryer to look out our Meeting for us, or else go forward to the Bettering House, then in view, or fall into the Church before us, which from the appearance of the people entering I judged to be High Dutch, and of course could expect nothing but to be diverted with something new in a strange language. In we went: the house was unfinished, and the people appeared poor, but they civilly shewed us to a seat, when to our agreeable disappointment we were entertained by as agreeable, instructive, and elegantly pathetic a preacher as I have almost ever heard in my life. He gave us a discourse of about fifty minutes, without notes, yet extremely correct and in a fine stile. Perhaps the accidental falling upon him, and his being a warm Son of Liberty, both in prayer and sermon, prejudiced us in his favor, but I do not expect to hear a better sermon soon. It seems they are a set of honest plain Dissenters, who, to the shame of the other dissenting congregations and their clergy, have rather been despised and persecuted because they insisted on the right of choosing their own Minister, and chose this gentleman from a distance; neither of which circumstances prejudiced me against him; and I design to hear him again, before I leave the City.

This afternoon we found Mr. Sproat's meeting, and heard old President Witherspoon. The evening spent at Mr. Thos Wharton's, who was extremely civil and complaisant, and insisted on our using his horses and carriage while in town, or rather his Convenience, which

is the name of a Friend's or Quaker's Coach. This he was the more urgent in, as he was, he said, determined to convince me before I left the City, that they had land superior to ours.

Monday, Septem[r] 5th. The Congress formed by choosing the Hon[l] P. Randolph, Esq[r], of Virginia, President, and Charles Thompson, Esq[r], of this city, Secretary, and fix'd on Carpenters Hall for the place to meet in. This proceeding is highly agreeable to the mechanics and citizens in general, but mortifying to the last degree to Mr. Galloway and his party, Thompson being his sworn opposite, as you may say, and by his means prevented being one of the Congress for this Province. It was a matter of dispute whether we should choose a Secretary out of the Members, and I doubted in my own mind the propriety, but did not oppose it, as by opposing I most probably should have had the task myself, which is too burdensome to one who wants all spare hours for relaxation. The day until three was spent in reading our Certificates and adjusting some formalities ; after which, adjourned until ten next morning. I dined in company with a number of New England gentlemen at one Mr. Marshall's. I will not call him a Quaker, but a Friend, which is the true and proper characteristic of the man. In short, by seeing and dealing much in the world and among the polite, with a native stock of good sense, and freed by profession from the incumbrances of formality and compliment, he appears the easiest and truly politest of men, without a single bow or congee. I really enjoyed myself at a plentiful and elegant table, but the best part of the entertainment was the pleasure I received from the openness and simplicity of behavior in the man and his wife. When James the second try'd to convert Col. Kirk to the Roman Catholic faith this rough and bloody soldier told him he would do any thing for him but change his religion, and that he determined against ; but should he resolve otherway, he was pre-engaged, having promised the Emperor of Morocco, when in his

service, that if ever he altered he would turn Turk. I think of this, and have almost resolved, if I alter, to turn Quaker. I designed this afternoon to have rode out, but was prevented by company, and spent the evening with members of the Congress from different Colonies. Our President seems designed by nature for the business. Of an affable, open, and majestic deportment,—large in size, though not out of proportion,—he commands respect and esteem by his very aspect, independent of the high character he sustains. I must begin another sheet to-morrow. Adieu.

I told you I should begin another sheet, but had no conception of doing it on so disagreeable an occasion as that of the intelligence rec[d] of the situation of Boston. Of this I can say nothing more than that this City is in the utmost confusion, all the bells toll muffled, and the most unfeigned marks of sorrow appear in every countenance. The Congress sat untill after three, and then adj'd but untill five; but our proceedings for various reasons will be kept secret, so on that head shall say nothing untill we break up; for though we may publish to the world the whole, it is improper to do it prematurely. You may tell our friends that I never met, nor scarcely had an idea of meeting, with men of such firmness, sensibility, spirit, and thorough knowledge of the interests of America as the Gentlemen from the Southern Provinces appear to be. In this I do not speak from prejudice, but from the knowledge I have of them in their public as well as their private conversation, both of which I attend to with a pleasure that balances many if not more than all the anxieties and troubles of such a journey. May New England go hand in hand with them, and we need not fear a want of spirit. I intended to have entertained you with a brief sketch of their character and appearance, but this is the nineteenth page of my letter; must therefore conclude, and reserve the rest for a future opportunity; but of the transactions of the Congress you will have no intelligence to be relied on untill we publish.

Jos. Webb told me he sent the *Massachusetts Spy*, which I did not receive. Tell or write your Hon[d] Father that the report in his case will be the same as before, of which I give him joy. I will not begin a 20th page. Read or show this at discretion. Remember me to all. Capt. Hubbard sets out in the morning. Hope for the best; all is here unanimous. I am wishing you Health, the sweetner of every enjoyment.

Yours,

SILAS DEANE.

N. B. The Congress are not hereafter to disclose their proceedings but by agreement. There is good reason for it. I make no excuse to Jos. Webb for not writing to him particularly, as this is designed for his perusal, and as I before said is a family letter, and a summary of proceedings and sentiments to this Tuesday, 6th of Sept[r], 1774, nine at night.

Wednesday morning. An express arrived from N. York, confirming the acc[t] of a rupture at Boston. All is in confusion. I cannot say that all faces gather paleness, but they all gather indignation, and every tongue pronounces revenge. The bells toll muffled, and the people run as in a case of extremity, they know not where nor why. The Congress met, and opened with a Prayer made by the Rev[d] Mr. Deshay [Duché] which it was worth riding one hundred miles to hear. He read the Lessons of the day, which were accidentally extremely applicable, and then prayed without book about ten minutes so pertinently, with such fervency, purity and sublimity of style and sentiment, and with such an apparent sensibility of the scenes and business before us, that even Quakers shed tears. The thanks of the Congress were most unanimously returned him by a select honorable committee. We are just now formed into Committees, and our business is laid out, which, as we mean to go to the bottom, nothing but Gen[l] Gage and a greater force than he has at Boston will prevent our sitting some time.

I will now give you the character of the Delegates, beginning at South Carolina, as they are the Southernmost. Mr. Lynch is a gentleman about sixty, and could you see him, I need say nothing more. He has much the appearance of Mr. Ja^{s} Mumford, deceased; dresses as plain, or plainer; is of immense fortune, and has his family with him. He wears the manufacture of this country; is plain, sensible, above ceremony, and carries with him more force in his very appearance than most powdered folks in their conversation. He wears his hair strait, his clothes in the plainest order, and is highly esteemed. With him are two brothers, Mr. Rutledge, Sen^{r} and Jun^{r}, of independent fortune, ingenious, but impetuous in the Cause they are engaged in; the eldest, I judge, of my age; his lady, and a son of Jesse's age, is with him. They lodge at the next door. The younger brother is a tolerable speaker, equally zealous. He married Mr. Gadsen's daughter, who as I told you lodges with us. Mr. Gadsen leaves all New England Sons of Liberty far behind, for he is for taking up his firelock and marching direct to Boston; nay, he affirmed this morning, that were his wife and all his children in Boston, and they were there to perish by the sword, it would not alter his sentiment or proceeding for American Liberty; by which you may judge of the man, when I add that he is one of the most regularly religious men I ever met with. Col. Middleton is the only remaining member for that Province whom I have not characterized. He appears very modest; has said but little hitherto; is, I judge, fifty years of age, and of a very slender thin habit; but is in high esteem by his acquaintance.

Virginia comes next, but that must be the business of a future hour.

This evening I spent at Mr. Roberto's [Roberdeau's], a gentleman of fortune, who married Mr. Bostwick's daughter. She is a most amiable woman, and often reminded me of the late Mrs. Adam Babcock, whom she greatly resembles. Both she and he are too zealous

Presbyterians for me, which is all the fault I find with them. They give Mr. Murray a very indifferent character, but not as to morals.

Thursday morning. We are all in the greatest anxiety ; that of a most cruel suspense as to the certainty of the Boston rupture, as no fresh intelligence has as yet arrived. Though entirely in health, yet to shake off a lassitude gathering on me, I rode out this morning in company with Miss Levy who lodges here, five miles south of this city, before breakfast. This is perfectly fine, both the natural soil and the improvements ; and she was able to give me the names of the owners of the different seats we pass'd by, which was as entertaining as the morning air was refreshing. I wished often you could have taken a seat with us, and admired the country and prospects. A river on each side of us, the Delaware and Schuylkill, at about three miles distance ; the former full of large topsail vessels at anchor or under sail, and the latter winding through a fine intervale meadow full of cattle fattening for market, for in these meadows they feed all the beef for the city. B. Deane sets out in the morning, so shall close my journal this evening.

3 P. M. Having promised to wait on Mr. Marshall, my kind friend before mentioned, at 4 o'clock, I have only time to add that to our joy Putnam's blundering story is contradicted, and that every thing as yet wears the most favorable aspect which zeal and unanimity can promise us. My friends must content themselves with my expensive tarry, for to settle the rights and ascertain the privileges of a Continent like this is a work of time, and serious beyond the conception of a bystander. You will read this in full circle, and the bearer must explain it My love to all, Sally, Hannah, Hetty, Jesse, &c., &c.

I am, most affectionately, yours,

SILAS DEANE.

Philadelphia, Sept^{r} 8th, 1774.

Turn to the Morning Service in the prayer book, for the 7th day of the month,—Psalm 35th, I think it is.

As Doct^r^ Turner goes in the morning, I close my letter with adding, that the bells of the city are now ringing a peal of joy on acc^t^ of the news of Boston's having been destroyed, being contradicted.

Friday morning, Sept. 9th. Barzillai will not set out untill to-morrow or Monday, and on the whole I find my letter will reach you as early by him as by Doct^r^ Turner; and it being of such a miscellaneous composition, I am unwilling it should pass through too many hands, lest curiosity should overcome delicacy in the passage, and the consequence be a misconstruction of my sentiments.

It gives me some uneasiness to think that you will be disappointed by this post, that is, this week's post, but you will not blame me when you receive this budget and find I have wrote to you every day, and oftener. Yesterday afternoon, my Friend Marshall call'd on Friend Deane, and Brother, &c., and waited on us to what is called the Bettering House, in other words a poor house; the particular description of which must omit, and say only that it vastly exceeds all of the kind in America put together and, I guess, equals in its excellent institutions any thing in Europe. It has ample room for five hundred lodgers. There are about three hundred in it, old and young, from the poor old mortal expiring with age to the foundling pick'd up in the streets but the night before perhaps. All is neat and clean; even the rooms of the sick, and the walks and yard are very airy and lightsome; the yard and garden very spacious. Here all that can labour are put to it, and what they earn goes into the common stock. Here are about fifty looms, wheels, &c., &c., in proportion; and those that can work at no trade mend clothes and clean rooms, fetch and carry, as we may say, for those that do labour. This house, I judge, must have cost forty thousand pounds, and the annual support of it amounts to about two thousand. Here are two schools for the poor children, and nothing that serves at once to alleviate the wants and distresses of age, sickness

and poverty is unattended to. It put me in mind, at entering the house and meeting some poor old women at the door who seemed as rejoiced at seeing my friend as if he were their son, of the line of Pope,

"Where Age and Want sat smiling at the gate."

All this is done by private donation, and chiefly by the people called Quakers, among whom the Marshalls are some of the first; yet, as if these people determined to outdo all the rest of the world, they never permit any of their own poor to be sent here, but support them in a neat house by themselves, which is provided with gardens, but too much in the center of the city, occasioned by it being built early; whereas the Bettering House stands without the city in the fields. Returning, we took a view of a more melancholy scene, a prison now erecting, the construction of which is most curious. It is one hundred ninety feet in length, besides two wings of one hundred twenty feet each. This, I say, is a more melancholy scene, as it gives more gloomy ideas to view the punishments prepared for the wicked than provisions for the relief of the unfortunate and the miserable. I write as I view things; and as you will preserve this budget, after shewing it to J. Webb, &c., will explain it on my return, more at large.

The following is a list of the Congress in the order they stand:

For New Hampshire—Col. Fulsome, Maj^{r} Sullivan.

Massachusetts—Hon^{l} Mr. Cushing, Mr. Sam^{l} Adams, Mr. Jn^{o} Adams, Mr. Rob^{t} T. Paine.

Rhode Island—Hon^{l} Mr. Ward, Hon^{l} Mr. Hopkins.

Connecticut—Hon^{l} Eliph^{t} Dyer, Mr. S. Deane, Hon^{l} Mr. Sherman.

New York—Mr. P. Livingston, Mr. Isaac Low, Mr. Jn^{o} Jay, Mr. Jn^{o} Alsop, Col. Floyd.

New Jersey—Mr. Wm. Livingston, Mr. De Hart, Mr. Crane, Mr. Smith, Mr. McKinsey.

Pennsylvania—Hon^{l} Joseph Galloway, Mr. Mifflin,

Mr. Biddle, Mr. Morton, Mr. Ross, Mr. Rhoads, Mr. Humphreys.

Lower Counties—Hon^{l} Cesar Rodney, Mr. McKean, Mr. Read.

Maryland—Mr. Tilghman, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Goldsborough, Mr. Paca, Mr. Chase.

Virginia—Hon^{l} Peyton Randolph, President; Col. Washington, Col. Bland, Col. Harrison, Mr. Henry, Mr. Pendleton, Mr. Cha^{s} Henry Lee.

South Carolina—Mr. Lynch, Mr. Rutledge, Mr. Gadsden, Col. Middleton, Mr. Rutledge, Jun.

Charles Thompson, Secretary.

Two Committees are now out, and when they report I shall be able to judge better of our business. The one is to ascertain our Rights, enumerate the violations of them, and recommend a proper mode of Redress. The other, to take a view of all those Acts of the British Parliament which affect our Trade and Manufactures. I am in the latter Committee, which I must attend directly.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 163.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

My Dear,—Barney supp'd with us last night, and set out this morning at five. By him you will receive our proceedings to the time of his departure. The family we lodge in here consists of a widow lady, turned of forty as I judge, genteel and sensible; has been handsome, and is still comely. She has a daughter, her eldest child, lately married to a Lieutenant in the Regiment here, one Mr. Trist, who lodges with us. She has also two sons, that are one at apprentice with a merchant, the other at school. This is the standing family, but every room is now full. Two more gentlemen from Charlestown, So. Carolina, and a sick gentleman from Jamaica lodge here. The two former arrived last evening; the latter, poor man, has been here some time,

and will probably never more remove but by the help of others to his last lodgings—the Grave. I have not seen him. The officer here is much to be pitied. His commission is his principal dependence. He loves this country; he loves his young wife, who is very deserving and who is a warm Daughter of Liberty; yet [he] is ordered this morning to be ready to march in the afternoon for Boston. This is really affecting, and my passions are too sensible of soft impressions to view the struggle between duty (so called), interest, and honor military on the one hand, and affection and an honest regard and tenderness on the other. As we have all dined and supp'd together on a free footing at the same table, he seems the nearer to us; and our repeatedly asserting that the troops at Boston would be cut off if they attempted any thing against that town and province, gives him and his connections the most uneasy and melancholy apprehensions. Could he get rid of his commission on any terms short of ruining himself, he would gladly do it.

The troops here which are to assist in reducing New England and all America, amount to one hundred and eighty, of which sixty are old, worn-out invalids, unable to march as far as Boston in six weeks, were they to have the plunder of the town for their asking, and the rest disaffected to the unnatural employ. It is a doubt with me whether the people here will let them march. Had blood been shed by the soldiery at Boston, there would have been no doubt at all, for these soldiers in that case would before this have been disarmed and dispersed; but it is dangerous to begin hostility but on the most urgent occasion and, indeed, absolute necessity. I design to view them when on their march.

I gave you the character of the South Carolina delegates, or rather a sketch. I will now pursue the plan I designed. Mr. Randolph, our worthy President, may be rising of sixty, of noble appearance, and presides with dignity. Col. Harrison may be fifty; an uncommonly large man, and appears rather rough in his address and speech. Col. Washington is nearly as tall

a man as Col. Fitch, and almost as hard a countenance; yet with a very young look and an easy, soldierlike air, and gesture. He does not appear above forty-five, yet was in the first actions in 1753 and 1754 on the Ohio, and in 1755 was with Braddock, and was the means of saving the remains of that unfortunate army. It is said that in the house of Burgesses in Virginia, on hearing of the Boston Port Bill, he offered to raise and arm and lead one thousand men himself at his own expense, for the defence of the country, were there need of it. His fortune is said to be equal to such an undertaking. Col. Bland is a plain, sensible man, deeply studied into and acquainted with the antiquities of Virginia and of this Continent in general; has wrote several very sensible pieces on the subject, and is a tolerable speaker in public, as is Col. Washington, who speaks very modestly and in cool but determined style and accent. Mr. Pendleton is a lawyer of eminence, of easy and cheerful countenance, polite in address, and elegant if not eloquent in style and elocution. Mr. Henry is also a lawyer, and the completest speaker I ever heard. If his future speeches are equal to the small samples he has hitherto given us, they will be worth preserving, but in a letter I can give you no idea of the music of his voice, or the highwrought yet natural elegance of his style and manner. Col. Lee is said to be his rival in eloquence, and in Virginia and to the southward they are styled the Demosthenes and Cicero of America. God grant they may not, like them, plead in vain for the Liberties of their Country. These last gentlemen are now in full life, perhaps near fifty, and have made the Constitution and history of G. Britain and America their capital study ever since the late troubles between them have arisen.

Sunday. We dined yesterday with Mr. Wharton, a plain, hospitable Quaker family of great connections in this City and on this Continent, as well as in Europe, but I think has as much of the Serpent as the Dove in his composition. He treated us with the utmost polite-

ness and carried us in his coach after dinner to his country seat, and about ten miles south of this City, to view the country, which is fine and rich almost beyond comparison. The industry of this city exceeds anything you can have an idea of. The Delaware naturally overflowed at every tide a large tract of land on which consequently nothing grew but alders and rushes. This they enclosed with a dyke for miles in length, and by keeping the tide out have made it the richest meadow I ever saw. It is said to contain fifty thousand acres. I honestly owned beat to Mr. Wharton, for though I have seen as good land in Wethersfield, I never saw such an extent of it. This morning we set out to look up Mr. Deshay [Duché], but being unwell, he only read prayers, and Mr. White preached. After dinner we wen to Mr. Sproat's, but finding that neither Mr. Sproat no Mr. Spencer preached, but an indifferent old gentleman, I pushed on and heard Mr. Coombs, who is called a rival to Mr. Deshay, and at evening heard Mr. Spencer who is a very sensible good preacher.

Monday. This day as usual was spent on Committees ; Tuesday we dined with Mr. Smith, a merchant of this City, and on Wednesday and Thursday attended our business. Friday we had a grand entertainment a the State House. Sammy Webb must describe it About five hundred gentlemen sat down at once, and I will only say there was a plenty of every thing eatable and drinkable, and no scarcity of good humor and diversion. We had, besides the delegates, gentlemen from every province on the Continent present.

Saturday. I send the Resolves of this day, which are applauded to the skies by the inhabitants of this city, so will say nothing more about them. When I shall return is as uncertain as it was on my first entering the city. I arm myself with patience, and determine not to desert the cause. I hope your health returns. J. Webb says it does, but I had rather see it under your own hand. Mr. Revere sets out in the morning early, and by him I send this letter which brings me to

Sunday evening; having heard Mr. Deshay in the morning, and a Highland parson just imported the last week from the mountains of North Scotland this afternoon. I saw W^m^ Goddard here, but he looks dejected, and I thought did not much choose being seen in public. He most certainly engaged two potent adversaries when he differed with Galloway and Wharton. My most affectionate regards to all of both families, and to the neighborhood.

I am, my dear, your most affectionate husband,

SILAS DEANE.

P. S. I shall possibly write again before I return, but not so lengthy, as I am really hurried, and have many more engagements than I wish for, though they are agreeable; am engaged to dine out every day this week, once with Mr. Dickinson, and once with a Quaker just married. You will begin to suspect we do nothing else, but I assure you it is hard work. We meet at nine and sit until three, by which time we are unable to do anything but eat and drink the rest of the day. Love to all. S. D.

[Philadelphia] Monday evening, 11 o'clock,
19th Sept^r^, 1774.

I tell you on the other page that I shall not be so particular in my future letters. I shall not have time, for the business of the Congress having been at Committees, and the Committees I was upon having the least difficulty, has given me time to scribble; but as both Committees are now ready to report, we shall attend night and day until we get through or adjourn. I believe we shall adjourn until May next, but this is out door talk. If we do, I hope you will then have an opportunity of seeing this City, which I do think is a healthy one, and my countenance shows it, for every one of my Quaker friends I meet tells me, "Thee lookest very well, Friend Deane."

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 179.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

My Dear,—My last by S. Webb, brought me down to Tuesday of this week, the 22nd, when he left us, much regretted by the younger lodgers in the family, and I assure you not a little miss'd by a numerous, and I may add a very genteel, acquaintance in the City.

I told you in my last, that I could not in future be so particular, but as I gave you a sketch of the S. Carolina and Virginia delegates, and the North Carolina being now arrived, I will fill up the space by telling you there are three of them :—Mr. Hooper, Mr. Caswell, and Mr. [Hewes]. The first is a Bostonian bred, and educated at Cambridge College, classmate with Jos. Trumbull ; a lawyer by profession, ingenuous, polite, spirited, and tolerably eloquent. The other two are men of about forty, to appearance, of sedate and settled characters, well affected to the general Cause, but have not spoke as yet publicly.

On Tuesday we dined with Mr. Read, a gentleman of the law, very polite and sensible. He married the Boston agent Mr. Debert's daughter, in London ; and though small is of a most elegant figure and countenance. She is a Daughter of Liberty, zealously affected in a good Cause. On Wednesday we dined with Mr. Biddle, a Friend, lately married to a young lady in Rhode Island ; he brought her home but last week ; her name I think was Cornel, of a Friend family,—though indeed the younger and politer part of that profession in this city are not distinguishable, but in a very few particulars, from other people. Mr. Biddle was a young widower ; is a peculiar friend to the New England people and seems to have even a great prejudice in their favor. It is not probable that a most beautiful young wife will alter his opinion. Mr. Galloway, Mr. Hooper, &c., dined with us, and yesterday we dined with the celebrated Pennsylvania Farmer, alias Mr. Dickinson, at his country seat, four miles from town, a description of which must be omitted until my return.

Our business, you begin to think, proceeds slow, but it is not in consequence of any divisions or altercations in the Congress, but from the vast, extensive, and lasting importance of the questions before us. I wish you could have come here with me. I think it is as healthy a place as any on y^e^ Continent, and otherways very agreeable. I fear I shall have too high an opinion of this City, it is so much to be preferred to New York, in point of civility and hospitality as well as frugality and economy; but the country round is vastly inferior to ours on Connecticut River, nor will any part, except the meadows I mentioned, bear any comparison with the towns of Middletown, Wethersfield, Hartford, &c. I expect a letter by to-morrow's post, so will not add until I receive that.

Friday, 23^d^ Sep^r^, 1774. I am, &c.,

S. Deane.

Saturday evening. The post arrived, but no letters, save one word from J. Webb, and but one. Have an opportunity of sending this in the morning, therefore add, tho' late at evening, that you or your friends for you must write me, more particularly. For here I have wrote into Connecticut more than one hundred pages, and can receive nothing in return, or what is worse than nothing, a perfect uncertainty as to your situation in point of health. Nothing but the business before us could detain me one moment, having seen and been acquainted with all I wish connection with in this City, either for curiosity or instruction; and to be detained three weeks longer is intolerable in thought. I will not therefore think of it,—but praying for your repose this evening and your happiness forever, subscribe,

Your most affectionate Husband,

Silas Deane.

P.S. Sally, Hannah, Jesse, &c., are in my remembrance.

[Addressed :] To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane,

Wethersfield.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 184.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

[Philadelphia, Oct. 9th, 1774.]

My Dear,—I wrote you per James, which I fancy you are this moment, Sunday, 10 o'clock A.M., receiving. On seeing him return alone, you will be doubtless apprehensive of bad news, but on opening my letters will be convinced of the contrary. Just the reverse happened to me yesterday. While in Congress our servant call'd on me with a large letter by y^e^ post, from J. Webb. I opened it in haste, and with pleasure saw a long letter enclosed, wrote in your hand. My heart beat with joy at the sight, and before I had time to unfold the cover, suggested to me that you were now greatly recovered, if not quite well, or you would not write so much and so well. Mr. Mitchel and you write so nearly alike that it is not easy to distinguish. In a word, it was a narration of his Tour to the North, and agreeable enough at any other time, and not disagreeable in itself then, but in the disappointment it occasioned.

I left home the 22d of last August; it is now the 9th of October,—but my letter by Jemmy will show you the situation of my mind, no way relieved, I assure you, from its anxiety by the increasing that which first occasioned it, a total silence in you and the family, and consequently an absolute uncertainty as to the state of your health. I have nothing new to write, worth sending this distance. The proceedings of the Congress are carried on slow, and I fear will detain us here through the month. My kind and affectionate regards to Hannah, Sally and Jesse, &c., &c. Shall add to this, if time and matter for writing offer.

I am, my dear, wishing you health and felicity,

Your affectionate husband,

Silas Deane.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 186.

To Governor Trumbull.

Philadelphia, October 22, 1774.

Sir,—The business lying before the Congress appears so nearly closed that we doubt not but that we shall be able to leave this City next Wednesday or Thursday; all the capital points are agreed on, and I have the pleasure of assuring your Honour that the greatest unanimity has subsisted through the whole of our proceedings. Our Resolves, Addresses, &c., are preparing for the press, having already been signed by each Member of the Congress.

But I find this, like other Assemblies, that the finishing part of the business, which being the most critical, and requiring the greatest attention is too often left to the close of the session, and is of course ever in danger of suffering through the hurry of the Members. Our President is obliged to leave us to-morrow in order to meet the House of Burgesses of Virginia, and if we can set out on Thursday next I hope to be in New-Haven the Monday following.

I am with great truth and regard your Honour's most obedient most humble servant,

Silas Deane.

Governour Trumbull.

P. S. You will excuse my enclosing Mr. Hosmer's Letter with yours; the safety of the conveyance in this way is the cause.

Force's American Archives, 4th Series, I., 887.

To Patrick Henry, Esq.

Weathersfield in Connecticut,
January 2d, 1775.

Dear Sir,—I have for some time waited, as well for a Subject worth sending you from this distance as for a certain Opportunity of conveying a Letter to your hands. Though near the great Scene of Action, or

rather oppression, yet nothing can be as yet collected by which to determine with the least degree of certainty what the Fate of Boston will be. The return of the *Scarborough* gave us hopes of learning something of the disposition of the Ministry, but nothing transpires. The men of War in the Harbor, which had taken down their Topmasts, yards, etc., to be in a snugg winter rig, instantly on her arrival went to running them up again and getting into readiness for Sailing. The town of Boston continues firmly to pursue the measures they at first set out upon, and Town Meetings, instead of being suppressed by the late sovereign edict, are held more frequent than ever. Donations are constantly making to their poor by the Neighboring Colonies, but I fear inadequate to their real sufferings, which are immensely severe and great. I really question whether History can produce an instance parallel to the present Stand which Boston is making for their Liberties, for firmness in resolving, patience in enduring, and forbearance under insults added to the Oppression. The Militia of that, & indeed of all the New England provinces, will be on a very respectable footing before next Spring. The method taken in that province is nearly this: All the Officers have resigned their Commissions to the Governor, in Consequence of which the people within the Limits of each respective Regiment meet and make choice of others in their Room. Where the Officer resigned is a person agreeable to the people & of a Military turn, he is chose by them afresh; after this they make a draught of one Third of The whole, who are to hold themselves in readiness with Arms, Ammunition, a good Horse, and Ten days provision, and to march at a Minutes Warning. Their Militia, as well [as] ours, consist of Farmers and Farmers Sons, & are perhaps to a man owners of Horses, so that this is no expensive article & is very essential as well for easy transportation of their provisions, &c., as for expedition; for by this means the whole body, which will consist of between

Twenty and Thirty Thousand of these in that province, may be assembled in Two Days time at Boston. The Governor has rec[d] a letter from Lord Dartmouth directing him to make seizure of any Arms or Ammunition that may be imported into this Colony, and I conclude it is Circular; if so, you will doubtless by this Time have rec[d] one of the same Tenor. We have received an acc[t] of a severe Battle fought on the Banks of y[e] Ohio between your people and the Indians, and that is decisive, the Indians having made their peace by ceding all the Lands East of s[d] River; if so, it is a vast addition of Territory to people which you will doubtless be willing to receive Inhabitants from your Neighbors or from abroad. Reflecting on the conversations pass'd between us at Philadelphia, I am inclined to think that a Number of Inhabitants from this Colony would adventure on a Settlement on the Ohio if properly informed and encouraged, and for this purpose wish to know the particular Situation of the Lands you told me you had purchased there, and the Terms on which you would agree with them to settle. The Character of Our people is imminent for adventures of this kind, and it is computed that not less than One Thousand Families, or Four Thousand persons, annually emigrate to Neighbouring provinces. They long since took up all the Lands formerly possessed by the Neutral French in Nova Scotia; since the last warr they have taken up the Lands in New York & New Hampshire as farr North as those provinces extend, and have made a very large Settlement on the Delaware and Susquehannah Rivers under the Connecticut claim of a Western extent to the South Sea, on which subject I gave you a book wrote by M[r] Trumbull. Were these Western Lands out of dispute, & the Title clear in the Colony to every one's Satisfaction and certainty, they would afford ample Room for our Surplus of Inhabitants, and We should in a few years break the Boundaries of the Quebeck empire; but the uncertainty of the Title discourages Men whose first principle is to possess a disencumbered

Freehold, be it ever so small, in preference to the largest under quit rents & Landlords. The Terms on which Our People would prefer settling are chiefly these: To transport themselves on to the Land at their own expense; To have a certain part or share of the Land free & clear to them on condition of their doing certain services upon it, such as Clearing, planting, building, &c., the performing which will render the other part of which of so much higher Value as richly to repay the original proprietor for the Share of Land which he assigned to them. This Share in New Hampshire, &c., has generally been the one half. Thus, supposing you own a Ten Mile Square, which, continuing uninhabited & in a State of Nature, can be of no Value, and the settling it at your Own expense must be a Vast Affair. Now, by giving one half of it to a number of young industrious Farmers, on condition of their sitting down with their Families upon it, will immediately give a Value to the other half, increasing in proportion to the settlement by the side of it, as these first Settlers would soon be desirous of purchasing; or if you choose to settle it with Tenants, such a neighbourhood would be of the last consequence. For supplies and assistance on such a plan, the Lands given should be divided into Lotts of about Two or three Hundred Acres to each Family, and not more, for a Connecticut Farmer with Two Hundred & Fifty, or three Hundred Acres of good Land, is a rich man, that is, as rich as he wishes to be, for this Colony is now so full of Inhabitants that there is not more than Twelve Acres to a person. It will be necessary, should any such Scheme take place, to know, how great the Land Carriage will be from your nearest Seaport, and what the Roads, and probably the expense of getting on to the Lands, for if practicable without too heavy disburstments, and the Soil agreeable, I would engage a Number to go on the next season and make a Beginning. We sometimes have vessels from this to Alaxandria, and should be glad to know how distant the water Car-

riage of this River may be from the Lands you mentioned. I could procure a Number, Sufficient for one Town, who would incline to settle a little (or rather as much as possible), on the New England plan, which would be to have a reserve of Land for a Minister & for a School, and if consistant with your Constitution, to have such orders & regulations with respect to the domestic concerns of their Settlement, as they should find most convenient. Our Trade, bad even in the best of times, must be totally ruined in the present and coming, and We have no employ so natural for increasing Youth, as the forming of New Settlements. We are already extended to 45° of Latitude in the provinces of New Hampshire and New York, and the Country, though under the disadvantages of a Winter about as severe as the Europeans feel in 55°, yet it is in a manner all patented out and settled; if We extend Westward in our own Latitude Our Title will [be] disputed, and the Winters are severe, even in this parallel. Though the soil is inviting and though strongly invited to go on to the River Mississippi in the provinces of West Florida, yet the distance discourages most of our young men, though several Hundreds are already gone there with their families. Public, as well as private Interest, urge to extend Settlements of true and well-principled protestants Westward, in order to defeat the designed Operation of that most execrable Quebec Act, of which you have a proper sense. Returning to Politics, you will see that the Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, have reappointed their Delegates for May, with the addition of some others to their Number. I send you with this for your entertainment the following papers—the Charter of Connecticut, the same which all the New England Charter originally were & Rhode Island now is; it is in a word an Epitome of the Patent granted by James the first to the Plymouth Company in 1620, by which he granted to them all the Lands from 40° to 48° from one sea to the other, from which Plymouth Company We derive Our Title first by

purchase, and then confirmed by this Charter. The original Plymouth Patent I have by me, but it is too lengthy to transscribe. I send you also some extracts from a Manuscript History or Diary, wrote by the first Governor, Winthrop, styled by Historians the Father of New England. A letter from King Charles the Second to the Governor & Co of Connecticut, desiring that an act should be passed against Piracy. The Number of our Inhabitants taken by order of Our Assembly, & also those of Rhode Island; these may be relied on as exact. The confederation or agreement of the people first settling this colony in 1638, under which they subsisted, until the granting of the charter in 1661, without a single Reference to, or Notice taken of King, Lords, Commons, or any other power on Earth, save that of the *United* Colonies, the Articles of whose Confederation, bearing date 1643, I also send you there with, which was never dissolved untill the year 1685, as nearly as I recollect, their Records at Present being out of my hands. I need not mention to you what would have been the Consequences had this Confederation have continued untill now, and the other Colonies early acceded to it—it is not too late to form such an one that will suit Our present Circumstances & which being varied as future Contingences arise may last forever. Something of this kind appears most absolutely necessary, let Us turn which way We will. If a reconciliation with G Britain takes place, it will be obtained on the best terms, by the Colonies being united, and be the more like to be preserved, on just and equal Terms; if no reconciliation is to be had without a Confederation We are ruined to all intents and purposes. United We stand, divided We fall, is our motto and must be. One general Congress has brought the Colonies to be acquainted with each other, and I am in hopes another may effect a lasting Confederation which will need nothing, perhaps, but time, to mature it into a complete & perfect American Constitution, the only proper one for Us, whether con-

nected with Great Britain, or Not. A Sketch of this I likewise send you with the papers mentioned before. I mentioned to you a town on the New England plan; if you are not Tired I will describe the method of settling and governing one of them, from which Sample You will be acquainted with the whole. All Lands in New England (except in New Hampshire) are absolutely in the gift, or disposal of the General Assembly. A Number, suppose sixty, apply for a township or tract of Land, Six or Eight miles square. The Assembly grants on the following Conditions: Seventy Families shall be settled within such a time, Four or Five years, perhaps. They, being settled, shall support a Minister, or Clergyman, of some of the protestant professions. Dissenters to be preferr'd; also a School Master. When they become more Numerous and are desirous of it, they may send Deputies to the general Assembly, but when they do this, and not before, they are liable to be Taxed by the Assembly, for the Support of Government. A Certain Tract or share of Land, generally about Five or six Hundred Acres, is reserved for the Use of a Clergyman & as much more for a School Master.

All their domestic police is under their own regulation; they meet at least once in each year, & make choice of a number of the more steady of their number for Select-Men as they are called. These are officers not under Oath, but act in a judicial manner in conducting all the public affairs of the town, in which they are accountable to no one but to the Inhabitants in full meeting; their power is almost unlimited over the Poor, the idle, the dissolute, over Highways, Bridges, Public Nusances, &c.—in all which cases they hear & determine absolutely, and without fee or reward; their power expires with the year, when New ones, or they are rechosen; they are in short a sort of Censors on the manners of the people. They summon the people together as they judge proper, and when convened the Inhabitants have a right of taxing themselves, for such

purposes as the time presents—in particular for all the expences of the Town, Civil as well as Ecclesiastical, for the supporting their school, their Clergy, their Poor, &c., &c. They choose other Officers under these, such as Constables, Grand Jurors, Surveyors of Roads, Collector of the taxes they levy, a Clerk, a Treasurer, &c., all of whom are accountable to and removeable by the people in Town Meeting assembled—Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs & Judges of the Court are independant of the voice of the particular towns. Thus each Town is in some degree a distinct republic with power even of passing what they call by Laws not repugnant to those of the colony pass'd in General Assembly, where all are united by a Representation chosen by each Annually (or Twice each Year as is the case with Us in Connecticut). All eclesiastical matters, such as the choice of a minister, his mode of settlement, his support, his removal in case of dissatisfaction, is in the power of the Inhabitants, and yet disputes between the Clergy and people, and their parting seldom happen; indeed I conceive a Capital Reason why they are not more frequent, is the entire Liberty at which they mutually are to leave each other on being dissatisfied. Such a kind of Domestic Government I conclude could not be expected with you, but should be glad to know whither the Inhabitants will be obliged to pay to the support of an Episcopal Clergy, whither they are of that persuasion or not? and also whither the quit rents will be immediately and vigorously exacted, and how large the Sum? I say immediately, for the Day is not distant when these Quit rents will be little more than a Sound, for the Crown never having any constitutional Right to exactions of the kind, and introducing them at first at a trifling sum, & not being rigorous in the exactions, they have been continued and tolerated to this Time, but will be shook off when America comes to the enjoyment of that perfect Liberty to which she is intituled.—I have wrote you a most Tedious Letter, & will not go on to add one transgression to another by still length-

ening it with Apologies, so will only add that I hope it will cost you Nothing More than the reading which you will do at your Leisure. If you are near Col. Bland, I pray you the favor, to obtain of him, and send me, The date of the first Virginia patent & its Boundaries ; The protest of The House of Burgesses, signed by them & their Governor & ratified by Charles y^e^ 1^st^ against the dismembering of the Dominion of Virginia ; this was I think in 1642.—The Second patent, or Charter of Virginia, was, If I remember rightly, in James the 1^st^'s Reign.—I wish to see the date and Boundaries. Col. Bland was kind enough to offer Me such Charts from his Valuable Collection as I should send to him for, and I will Trouble him No More at present, unless he has any Acc^t^ of Any Grant of North Virginia, so called at that day, afterwards New England, antecedant to the year 1620 ; if he has, I wish to See the date & Boundaries.—If he has not the Plymouth or New England patent of 1620, & is desirous of it, I will forward him a Copy, as also of any other paper to be procured in these parts. There is No such thing as procuring a good History of Virginia in this Colony ; I shall be greatly obliged to You to send Me the most Authentic extant, and in return will favor you with the History of New England in general, but of Connecticut in particular, which will be soon sent to the press, and from the ingenuity of the Author, and the Attention he has for several years paid to it, will I trust be the best ever yet published. I shall forward this packet to Mr. Mifflin, to whom I have wrote, to send it by some private, but Trusty hand, to Virginia. To his Care, please to direct your Answer, unless some more direct conveyance offer. I ought perhaps to mention, that We returned during the sitting of our General Assembly, who most Unanimously approved of the doings of y^e^ Congress, and recommended the Association to the strict observance of the Inhabitants, who universally and without hesitation have determined to abide thereby. Please to present my compliments to

the Gentlemen with whom I had the happiness of being acquainted in Congress, if you see them. I am, with great Truth & regard,

Dear Sir, your most obd't
& very Hum^l^ Serv^t^,

Patrick Henry, Ju^r^, Esqr. SILAS DEANE.

Historical Magazine, New Series, VII., 22.

FROM ELIPHALET DYER.

Windham, April 14th, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—Received yours in answer to my former, last Evening. Cap^t^ Shaw now waiting, can only say it is too late to talk about a Special Assembly, & it will not do when the General Congress, which moves the whole Machine, is so near Setting, for any one wheel, of its own head, to set a moving itself; it may be so Contrary that the whole may thereby be thrown into Confusion, but, however, when I see you I can explain myself farther on the Subject; upon y^e^ whole I don't desire you should be fettered, & I am not very fond of being bound myself. By your letter I suppose I am to Understand that without farther Notice or provision I may depend upon stowing in with you in thy Leathern Conveniency, when & where we can Chatt, we can sing, we can dispute everything, Scold & make friends again every half hour, which will make the time pass away easily & ye road smoothly. I will provide a good servant, y^e^ same or a better; the exact time I must be at Weatherfield you must let me know. For our trading stock a draught by Cap^t^ Shaw on M Wharton will be most Convenient for ab^t^ 3 hun^d^ pounds. I give him an Ord^r^ on Treas^r^ but take out pocket money to Carry us along. As to going by Water, if you were serious, I believe it will not do, tho' I was fully of that mind, but I have but a few Friends & they are very good and advise me not to trust myself that way, & tho I love

honor, yet I had rather tarry a little longer before I have the honor of being hangd for my dear Country, but another, stronger reason I have yet, and that is it would too much gratify my Enemys; on y^e^ whole believe y^e^ old way is best

am In hast your most Obed^t^

Curranti Calimo ELIPH^t^ DYER.

Addressed To M^r^ Silas Deane
At Weathersfield.

Thomas Mss.

TO MRS. ELIZABETH DEANE.

[New York, May 7th, 1775.]

MY DEAR,—You know with how much pleasure I write, and I therefore make no excuse for not writing to you earlier. The second night we lodged at Fairfield. Mr. Hancock not coming up, proceeded at eight on our journey and dined at Stamford with a company met at a wedding, which honest Mr. Cushing took for a company convened to wait upon us; and in he stumped, and led us to the head of the table, where, toward the close of our dinner, we found out our mistake, and were merry eno' on the occasion.

Twelve men appeared with bayonets fixed and formed our guard, swearing they would see us safe on our way until relieved by another guard. We arrived at Haviland's, in Rye, that night, with our guard, and the next morning they were relieved by twelve more from Greenwich or Horse Neck, extremely well mounted and armed, and their two officers in scarlet and gold. Eight preceeded us; Jn° Webb as Aid-de-camp, followed singly; then the carriages; then the other four of the Guards, and our servants in the rear of the whole; so that we cut a considerable figure. At the bridge we were met by Judge Morriss, Capt. Campbell, a half-pay officer in the regular service, Capt. Sears and others.

Just after dining, Mr. Hancock and Adams came up and at four we set out, in the same form and order as before, for town; only the gentlemen who met us fell in directly after our rear guard, and Capt. Campbell with two other gentlemen gave the directions of the procession. By the time we had got two miles from the Bridge we found the road lined with carriages, and all ages and sexes, and the atmosphere one cloud of dust. Great order was, however, tho' with difficulty, observed. Jn° Webb kept directly behind our guard, and Jn° Deane rode next behind our carriage, which was in the rear of the delegate's carriages, as Mr. Hancock's led.

Before Mr. Watts's door a battalion of about eight hundred men, in uniform and bayonets fixed, with a band of music, received us with the military salute from the right as we pass'd them in front; and when pass'd, we halted, and they filed off before us, our guard falling into the rear. You can easier fancy than I describe the amazing concourse of people: I believe well nigh every open carriage in the city, and thousands on foot trudging and sweating thro' the dirt. At the Fresh Water, the Battalion halted, and we again passed their front and received a second salute from the left, and were received by our friends, the delegates of the city. Then we halted, and the battalion again passed us in the same manner as before, and led us down the Main Street to the corner of Wall Street, up that and down the Broadway; by the Fort, then up to Fraunces's Tavern, where the battalion halted, and we passed them again to the right and received the parting salute, with the Huzzahs of the assembly, which by this time was much the largest I ever saw.

The doors, the windows, the stoops, the roofs of the piazzas, were loaded with all ranks, ages and sexes. In short, I feared every moment lest some one would be crushed to death; but no accident. A little dispute arose as we came near the town, the populace insisting on taking out our horses and drawing the carriages by

hand. This would have relieved Mr. Hancock's horses, for they were well tired; but mine were with difficulty managed amid the crowd, smoke and noise. Instantly a Guard of Grenadiers was set at each door where we lodged, and relieved regularly in the usual way. They are in a blue and scarlet uniform, and make a genteel appearance. We dine, &c., at Fraunces's, but lodge at separate houses.

I have found a kinswoman, who married Parson Mosely, and lodge at her house, she, with a sister of Capt. Campbell's, having taken a genteel house for lodgers. Our horses and carriages are gone over the River, and we follow, in company with the delegates from this place, to-morrow morning early.

Tell my brother Bar[s], &c., that I have seen Mrs. Trist, also Mrs. Fowler, who came to my lodging after meeting, and who tell me the soldiers here are deserting every day and are extremely uneasy, being confined like prisoners in the barracks, none venturing out save to relieve guards at the Fort and at the Governour's, which is within a few doors of ours. Tories are silent, but not quite dead; but a most critical watch is kept over them, and every letter intercepted. The people are in suspense as to seizing the Fort as yet, and wait the advice of the Congress; but a most surprising spirit prevails, and New England men are extolled to the skies.

An anecdote I will give you. The Fairfield Company on their return from Hartford marched to New York, and assisted in getting out the cannon to King's bridge. In the Company was a deserter from the troops here, who by carelessness fell into their hands again. Capt. Deming, who commanded the Fairfield Company, hearing of it, instantly drew up his men before the Barracks, and demanded his man. They replied, he was a deserter from them. Capt. Deming answered, "I care not who he deserted from; he put himself under my protection, and by G—d I'll have him, or level the Barracks over your heads." What reply, think ye, these heroes of five companies

of the invincible Royal Irish gave to this pesky Yankey? Why they delivered him up, in the face of the whole city, and Deming carried him off in triumph. Deming is still here, and part of his men.

Let no copies be taken of any of my letters, but shew this anecdote to Mr. Hosmer, and tell him this Capt[n] must be remembered. Dr. Auchmuty has been busy, his letters intercepted, and he this day had the satisfaction of preaching to almost naked walls. It is with difficulty I have wrote this much, as I have been all day at meeting, and the house is now full of company; so——[The rest is wanting.]

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 221.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

[Philadelphia, May 12th, 1775.]

My Dear,—I wrote you a long letter from New York, which I conclude you received. On Monday morning, the Company of Grenadiers, under Capt. Lasher, formed before our headquarters, and the principal gentlemen of the City, with their delegates, being assembled, a procession was made to the Ferry, where the Rhode Island Packet lay to receive us. The crowd had become almost as great as on the Saturday before, and we passed the Ferry (after three huzzas from the shore) just above the Man of War; music playing on board, and armed boats on each side. When arrived, the Grenadiers landed first and formed, then we landed, and parted.

On our arrival within three miles of Newark, a Troop of Horse and a Company of Grenadiers met us, but to Mr. Hancock's and the people's extreme disappointment, he in his haste took another road and pass'd the Ferry direct to Elizabeth Town. At Newark, we were received in the most polite manner, and by as genteel a company of gentlemen as any I have seen, with whom we dined, and rode to Elizabeth

Town; joined Col. Hancock, received a salute from four companies of militia, and went off for Woodbridge, where all were in arms,—though these were very rough troops, and afforded us some diversion; but they meant well, and we spent half an hour with them; after which we rode to Brunswic, crossed the ferry, and lodged, but with a strong guard.

Early in the next morning the militia mustered and guarded us to Princetown, where we were received by a Company under arms, the president and students, &c. Hence we rode to Trenton, and dined; thence to Bristol, and lodged with a guard.

The next morning set out for Philadelphia, and were met at about six miles on this side of the City by about two hundred of the principal gentlemen, on horseback, with their swords drawn; here we alighted and baited. Thence began a most lengthy procession: half the gentlemen on horseback, in the van; next to them, ten men on horseback, with bayonets fixed; then Hancock and Adams, then Payne, next Mr. De Hart, next Col. Floyd and Mr. Boerum in a phaeton with two most elegant white English horses; then your humble servant and Col. Dyer; then Father Cushing and Jn° Adams, Mr. Sherman next; then Mr. P. Livingston, who took Jno. Webb in his carriage, as one of his servants had tired his horse and took John's. Mr. Alsop tired all four of his fine bay horses, and was, with Mr. Duane, put into other carriages. Our rear closed with the remainder of the gentlemen on horseback, with swords drawn, and then the carriages from the City. At about two miles distance we were met by a Company on foot, and then by a Company of Riflemen in their uniform, which is very curious. Thus, rolling and gathering like a snow-ball, we approached the City, which was full of people and the crowd as great as at New York, the bells all ringing and the air rent with shouts and huzzas. My little bay horses were put in such a fright that I was in fear of killing several of the spectators; however, no

harm was done, and after much fatigue we were landed at the New City Tavern. Happily, a rain had laid the dust, and we were not so troubled as at New York.

We found all our friends from the southward (Mr. Henry excepted) arrived; he is hourly expected. Cesar is well, and as handsome as ever.

Thus I have given you a circumstantial relation of our march in state for two hundred miles, not through any vanity, but to give your curiosity satisfaction and to show you how high the spirit of the people is in these parts. In this city they say they have three thousand of the principal young men exercising twice every day, among whom is a large number of the Friends, or Quakers.

Dr. Franklin is of the Congress; the proceedings of which, as before, will be kept a secret. Galloway is fled, as they say. You think your spirit is high; believe me, it is as much warmer here as the climate, and every kind of preparation goes on rapidly; and I seriously believe Pennsylvania will, in one month, have more than twenty thousand well disciplined troops ready to take the field. They exercise here twice every day, at five in the morning and five in the afternoon, and are extremely well armed. Mr. Mifflin is a Captain of one Company, Mr. Wyckoff his L^{t}, and Mr. Mifflin's brother, Ensign. The Commons west of the City is every morning and afternoon full of troops and spectators of all ranks.

The delay of the Rhode Island delegates as to coming up prevents our entering at once deeply on business, but you may depend all will be well; that is, if I may judge from appearance. But believe nothing you hear reported of us, for our doings will not be published but by authority of the whole. The scenes before us are so vast that I can give no kind of judgment as to the term we shall be detained here, and I tremble when I think of their vast importance. May the God of Wisdom preside!

Mr. Duchay [Duché] made a most pathetic and

pertinent prayer at our opening. Pres[t] and Sec[y], the same as before.

I pray you send me a paper (Mr. Hosmer has a copy), *Articles of Confederation of the United New England Colonies.* It will help me in an important matter. It is dated 1642, I think, but Mr. Hosmer will know. I have one in my desk, but it may be misfiled in the confusion.

I have no time in this letter to write on business. The drum and fife are hourly sounding in every street, and my brainpan is this moment echoing to the beat, parading under my window. The Southern Colonies are also all in arms, and, if I may venture a conjecture, on the whole, America has now more than one hundred thousand ready to take the field.

Pray let good care be taken of my letters; and of those sent me, all must go under cover to Mr. Hazard. You may shew my letters, but let no copies of any paragraph be taken. I had determined to write of sundry matters on the road, but the bustle of attendance prevented, and I am not yet so settled as to recollect them; but a part of each day shall be spent in writing to you, and I may add to this before it goes.

I am, &c.

S. Deane.

Friday, May 12th.

P.S. D. Mumford is well, and I believe agreeable to his master; but of this, hereafter. All the brothers are hearty in the great and glorious cause.

Saturday, y[e] 12th. The Post waits. Tell Mr. Hosmer I rec[d] his letter, and will write him next post, if anything material occurs. I rec[d] S. Webb's letter.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 226.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

Philadelphia, May 21st, 1775.

My Dear,—My last brought me to our arrival here, and the military situation of this city, or rather its

military spirit, which will I fancy lay the foundation for surprising future effects on a certain System so long predominating here.

I have bought me a suit of clothes, and put them on for the first time this day; a sample I send you p[r] John, whom I might easily get a berth for in the Militia, but can find at present no other.

I mentioned adjourning to Hartford, but no motion has as yet been stirred or made public on the subject, and all is uncertainty. If we do not adjourn, am not in expectation of returning soon; for however great the sacrifice is, it cannot be greater than all, and I can by [no m]eans desert the Cause in which I consider my [life] itself embarked. The Congress did little more the first week [tha]n form themselves; and the Rhode Island members not coming until late last week, little more has been done than just to enter on the great subject before us.

Capt. Chester, I hear, is going into the service. Pray secure my gun and let no one have it, as Beckley was to make it on purpose for my use, and I choose not to be taken unarmed. If gone your journey, hope you have told somebody to let me know it, and what time you will expect to return.

May 24th. Our discourse about adjourning is somewhat abated. Our President left us yesterday, on acc[t] of attending as Speaker of the House of Burgesses now called in Virginia, and Mr. Hancock presides in his room. I need not say how agreeable a letter from you would be. My love to Sally, Jesse &c., &c.

I am yours,

SILAS DEANE.

24th. I have detained Johnny, in order to carry some letters of importance to New York, and he sets out this day. I have nothing new to add, and write thus much to shew you I am not unmindful of you.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 233.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

May 31st, 1775.

My Dear,—I am sensible that you may think odd of the brevity of my letters, and unaccountable that want of time should be offered as an excuse by a man who, to the world, may appear too idle and insignificant to urge any such reason. The truth is, I have been beyond measure taken up, and have not had time so much as to pay even complaisant visits to those who before and now treat me with all civility. Mr. Edwards goes to-morrow, when I design a circumstantial letter if possible, and after all this apology have really nothing more to say than that this is to convince you I miss no opportunity of writing, tho' it be only to say,

I am yours, &c.,

S. Deane.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 246.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

My Dear,—This comes by express, this moment setting out; have therefore only to say that I am well, but the City grows extreme warm, and I wish for the northward air, but wish for a while in vain. I am in hopes that the Congress will, in their adjournment, appoint a large committee of their body to sit constantly at Hartford or elsewhere near the scene of action. I send you a newspaper of to-day, &c.

And am, &c.

S. Deane.

Friday, June 2d, 1775.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 249.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

Philadelphia, June 3d, 1775.

My Dear,—Your favor of the 28th is before me, and upbraids the shortness of my two last letters, as I

promised you as well as myself they should be longer and more particular. For the greatest pleasure, even in this city, where hospitality itself resides, is in receiving agreeable accounts of the happiness of our absent friends and, in return, to convey the same to them.

The Congress, tho' not numerous, are yet a very unwieldly Body, in their very nature, as no motion or resolution can be started or proposed but what must be subject to much canvassing before it will pass with the unanimous approbation of Thirteen Colonies, whose situation and circumstances are various. And Unanimity is the basis on which we mean to rise ; and I thank God, it hitherto prevails to a most surprising degree. Besides, our business has run away with us, as I may say, for though the Northern Expedition met with a warm approbation, yet the resolutions necessary to be formed respecting those posts put by the forming a general plan of operation, which, had it been previously laid, every such manœuvre would, of course, have been provided for at once.

You have an indifferent opinion of the spirit of some in our Assembly. You know my sentiments of them in general, and no man living, I am bold to say, knows them better ; but though caution has ever been and is predominant, yet when matters come to a push, no Assembly or Government has behaved better ; and indeed, not only the name of a *Yankee*, but of a Connecticut man in particular, is become very respectable this way, and Governor Trumbull is highly applauded by the Congress, for the letters he has wrote us, and the measures he has pursued as Governor. Indeed now, the Constitution of Connecticut appears in its full lustre, and the whole continent are sensible of its superiority to any other, and must, I believe, after all, adopt one similar in each Colony.

John Webb is, I presume, before this, returned ; and by him you will see, in the first place, what kind of a coat I have got, and in the next place, learn by the letters he carries, and by what we have since

dispatched, that the Congress are determined at all events to hold Ticonderoga, and to pursue with vigor every defensive measure.

The militia are constantly out, morning and evening, at exercise; and there are already thirty companies in this city in uniform, well armed, and have made a most surprising progress. The uniform is worth describing to you: it is a dark brown (like our homespun) coat, faced with red, white, yellow, or buff, according to their different battallions; white vest and breeches, white stockings, half-boots, black knee-garters. Their coat is made short, falling but little below the waist-band of the breeches, which shows the size of a man to very great advantage. Their hats are small (as Jesse's little one, almost), with a red, or white, or black ribbon, according to their battallions, closing in a rose, out of which rises a tuft of fur of deer, made to resemble the Buck's tail as much as possible, of about six or eight inches high. Their cartouch boxes are large, with the word Liberty and the number of their battallion wrote on the outside in large white letters. Thus equipped, they make a most elegant appearance, as their cartouch boxes are hung with a broad white wash-leather strap or belt, and their bayonet &c. on the other side; with one of the same, which two, crossing on the shoulders diamond-fashion, gives an agreeable appearance viewed in the rear.

The Light Infantry are in green, faced with buff; vests &c as the others, except the cap, which is a hunter's cap, or jockey. These are, without exception, the genteelest companies I ever saw. They have besides a body of Irregulars, or Riflemen, whose dress it is hard to describe. They take a piece of Ticklenburgh, or tow cloth, that is stout, and put it in a tan-vat until it has the shade of a dry or fading leaf; then they make a kind of frock of it, reaching down below the knee, open before, with a large cape. They wrap it round them tight, on a march, and tie it with their belt, in which hangs their tomahawk. Their hats, as

the others. They exercise in the neighboring groves, firing at marks and throwing their tomahawks; forming on a sudden into one line, and then, at the word, break their order and take their posts, to hit their mark. West of this city is an open square of near two miles each way, with large groves each side, in which each afternoon they collect, with a vast number of spectators.

Next Monday is the day of their general review; after which, I will write you more on the military subject. Mr. Dickinson commands one battallion, Mr. Roberdeaux another, Mr. Cadwallader (a gentleman of immense fortune) a third; I know not the others, only that my friend Mifflin is one of the Majors. They have a body of Horse in training, but I have not as yet seen them out.

I dined yesterday with Mr. Cadwallader, whose furniture and house exceeds anything I have seen in this city or elsewhere.

My time is all taken up; for, in Congress at nine, out no day earlier than four, then on committees frequently, leaves me no spare time, and tires me effectually. Well as I love the busy scenes of politics, in your and my friend's opinion, I had rather not be appointed to committees quite so often as I am; for, since my being at this Congress I have had more than my share of such business.

The Colony of Connecticut having their men ready has been of service, and I trust we shall get a great share of their expense refunded by the Continent. I have wrote so much on politics that I have neither time nor room to add more than love to all of both families and a kind remembrance of the neighbors, &c., &c. Am sorry to hear of Mr. Merriam's situation; his loss will long be felt by that people. Mr. Peircy is returned from London, and is preaching away here, for the first time last evening. I went to Mrs. Roberdeaux in the afternoon to drink coffee with the celebrated beauty, Miss Keys, of whom I spoke to you

formerly. She is really handsome. But Mrs. Roberdeaux is a zealot in religion, which I am far from, at home or abroad. She must needs go to hear Mr. Peircy, at the further end of the city. I told her I had my pocket-book in my pocket and must be excused, and, in plain English, did not approve of evening lectures of any kind. She marked me down as an heretic, and, what is almost infinitely worse, a man of no sensibility or taste, that could at any rate decline walking near two miles and sitting a whole evening to hear a man preach, to have the inexpressible pleasure of being in company with so much beauty. But I shipped Col. Dyer on the voyage, and gave them the slip in the best manner I could. On my return, I fell in company with two young ladies, neither of them handsome, yet so free, merry and diverting, that I must honestly say I had rather spend one hour in their company than four in that where so much formality must be attended to, even were I to gaze at an angel. The ladies I last spoke of are daughters of a very good friend of mine in the city, and are very much like our Sally, only they sing well, which she does not or will not.

What a mess have I wrote! I promised you a long letter, and here you have it: a perfect farrago of politics, military, &c., &c. And here let it end by my wishing you every felicity which human nature is capable of enjoying, and by assuring you I am,

Your most affectionate Husband,

S. Deane.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 252.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

Philadelphia, 4th June, 1775.

My Dear,—I send you the Magazine for June. Conclude you must have received the preceding ones which I sent on, which must on no account be lent to

any one. Let those who want, subscribe for them. Also Doct[r] Smith's Sermon, the Articles of War, and Bradford's paper of this day. There is nothing new stirring. I am, my Dear,

Your most affectionate Husband,

SILAS DEANE.

Tuesday, June 6th, 1775.

After finishing the inclosed on Saturday, and missing the conveyance, I took up my horses, and in company with Col. Dyer, Father Cushing and Mr. J. Adams, made an excursion as far as Wilmington, in the lower Counties, twenty-eight miles from this place, down the Delaware. Unfortunately, the rains (which I hope you have had plenty of) prevented our viewing critically as I could wish this charming country, which is hardly exceeded by my beloved standard, Connecticut River.

Wilmington is situated on a small river called Christiern, running to the south of it through a rich, beautiful and extensive meadow. This little river is navigable up about two miles above the town to a bridge called the Christiana, and empties into the Delaware about three miles below, or to the east of the town, thro' one immense body of [fine] meadows, in which there is scarce a single tree to intercept the view of every vessel sailing up and down the Delaware, because very wide at this place.

The town is compact; has as many houses as Hartford; descends towards the river Christiern and the meadows east in much the same manner; is well built with brick; has two Presbyterian, one Quaker, and one Swedish church in it; and the quantities of flour manufactured there would render it a large place, were it not too much in the shade of Philadelphia, to which they ship all that article, at least forty miles by water, to be re-shipped by the merchants there. To give you an idea of the greatness of this business, a gentleman at Wilmington told me that one coaster carried annu-

ally thirty thousand barrels to Philadelphia. How many such they have I know not, but their Mills are thick as a little town and large as meeting houses; larger, indeed, than most. We returned yesterday, thro' the rain, which has prevented their review for the present.

This instant I have a letter from brother Barn[s] at Albany, and from Col. Porter of the 1st instant, by which I hope matters will go right at last. The Congress are now out on Committees, by which I hoped for leisure, but am forced on one of them, from which I have slipped a minute to write this morning, having [sat] up with them almost the whole of last [night] on business. Hope soon to be able to give the public an agreeable account of our proceedings, and alleviate the fears and distresses of our parsimonious Senators, by exhibiting to them specimens of Continental firmness, union, and spirit, on the present occasion.

I am, my Dear, as ever, Yours, &c.,

S. D.

The affair at Hogg and Noddle Islands coming on the back of the expedition to Grape Island, gives our people a high character here.

Wilmington is the spot where the New Haven people landed in 1640, and began a settlement, but were afterward drove off by the Dutch and Swedes. The posterity of the latter are still here, and the River and bridge bear the name of Christiern and Christiana, after the King and Queen of Sweden at that time. I could not help sighing to think what a country we lost at that day, but all is right.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 256, 258.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

Thursday, June 8th, 1775.

My Dear,—Capt. Riley arrived this morning, which, with the review, and the arrival of Major Skene, the

elder, from London, has so engaged me that I cannot describe the review, and can only say I wish you had seen it. Capt. Riley, when arrived, will describe it at large. Mr. Bowen, the bearer of this, will call on you, and can describe the situation of affairs here. Major Skene is close prisoner, with the officers arrived with him. I am to have an interview with him this afternoon by order, and may write you more on this subject as I have opportunity and liberty.

The 20th of July will be kept as an universal Fast thro' the Colonies, as I expect you will soon see in the papers. I am, with compliments to all Friends,

My Dear, Yours forever,

S. DEANE.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 260.

TO MRS. ELIZABETH DEANE.

Philadelphia, June 16th, 1775.

MY DEAR,—I received yours of the 11th ins^{t}, and by it find you had not had my last long and particular letter of my tour to Wilmington, of the review, &c. This, when received, will atone for my short letter, of which I allow you to take notice, or even to complain; tho' did you know my situation, you would rather wonder that I can write at all. The history of this day is,—rose at five, breakfasted and dressed by seven; at half past met a Committee in the State House on business, and never left the house until past five this afternoon, when I went to dine with a stomach, or appetite—so, so; immediately after which other business called, but your letter and other packets arriving, I have got some excuse, and am now writing this at twelve at night. Let this be my apology to you, but do not mention it in public, as they may think I am making an apology for wages and expenses extra.

Gen^{l} Washington will be with you soon; elected to

that high office by the unanimous voice of all America. I have been with him for a great part of the last forty-eight hours, in Congress and Committee, and the more I am acquainted with, the more I esteem him. He promises me to call, and if it happen favorably, to spend one night with you. I wish to cultivate this gentleman's acquaintance and regard, not from any sinister views, but from the great esteem I have of his virtues, which do not shine in the view of the world, by reason of his great modesty, but when discovered by the discerning eye, shine proportionably brighter. I know you will receive him as my friend, and what is more—infinitely more—his Country's friend; who, sacrificing private fortune, independent ease, and every domestic pleasure, sets off at his Country's call, to exert himself in her defence, without so much as returning to bid adieu to a fond partner and family. Let our Youth look up to this man as a pattern to form themselves by; who unites the bravery of the soldier with the most consummate modesty and virtue. I will say no more.

You will hear of other regulations soon; I hope to satisfaction. I know you will shew this letter to friends; remember my former caution, and let no extracts escape you. By the General, I shall write more particulars. You speak of our adjourning. You must know "This is an event most devoutly to be wished for," on some acc^{ts}, by me; but what am I? Nothing to the great Whole, and I fear the consequences of an adjournment on more grounds than I incline to mention. The subject is delicate, and on it am silent; but do believe that an adjournment, if any take place, will undoubtedly be for Hartford.

Mr. Lynch, of South Carolina, desires me this day to engage him lodgings for himself, lady and daughter, near Hartford, conditionally. I told him I would procure him an house in Wethersfield, which would be more agreeable to him, if we went that way. The members talk more and more every day of a removal

to Connecticut. Should it take place, will give timely notice for due preparation in Hartford and Wethersfield. Probable it is to me, and I think it necessary, and shall in due time move it, that a part of the Congress remove to Hartford, as a Committee of the whole, to direct and superintend the movements.

Should a number of the Riflemen described in my last pass you in their way for Boston, do not be affrighted. I see that the Wethersfield Company, under Capt. Chester, appeared with honor on a recent occasion. This has made me an inch taller, though I am prouder, as I may say, of Connecticut than I dare express, not a Colony on the Continent standing in higher estimation among the Colonies.

Politics engross everything; private business is at an end, in comparison. Shall give you a line before the General sets off, if possible; if not, he will notice you of his approach, but he is a man of no ceremony or parade.

Remember me to Doct^{r} Fairnsworth, Capt. Goodrich, &c. &c., and all the world, if they think of me; particularly to the families of both houses. The sheet is out, and the watchman cries past one o'clock.

I am, Yours affectionately,

S. Deane.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 264.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

Philadelphia, June 18th, 1775.

My Dear,—I wrote you the other day a short letter, after receiving your's of the 11th ins^{t} in which referr'd you to a long one, date forgot, giving acc^{t} of my tour to Wilmington, and a description of the dress of the troops here, the review, &c., &c., or rather I referred you to Capt. Riley, who was present at it, for a volume would not describe it at large, with the queer

figures of mortality which any public occasion here exhibits. You have often beheld a German countenance, and the lower order or Western Irish one. These made up so much the greater part of the spectators, that a lady of but tolerable beauty shone like a star in the midst of universal gloom surrounding.

General Washington sets out on Thursday this week. I have a strong temptation to accompany him quite to the Camp, for I am more in danger of death here (if it is an evil to be dreaded) than in an ordinary battle. Yesterday I was at Committee in State House, at six o'clock; took one dish of coffee, at Friend Marshall's; the Congress opened at ten, and I never left the House until five in the afternoon. Eleven hours at a sitting is too much for my constitution. It would be hard enough to attend the Congress hours, but Committees take up all my spare time.

The heat is extreme at present. This morning (Sunday) I ordered up my horses, and Col. Schuyler and I rode out as far as the Falls at Schuylkill, five miles, and breakfasted. This proved a cordial to me, but politics still attended, for our ride was to consult a plan we are forming for another bold stroke like the Ticonderoga affair, and no sooner had we arrived than calling for pen ink and paper, we fell to planning and scribbling, and cut out so much work that on our return it has taken me all day to complete it, which we have just now done, and sent off our dispatches 2 o'clock P.M. This gentleman is the soul of Albany county, and tho' he may have faults, he is sincere, well bred, and resolute, and I think a valuable acquaintance. Shew this letter to no mortal. If our plan (for no mortal as yet but he and myself are privy to it) is adopted and succeeds, you will hear of it; if it fail, I will tell you of it hereafter.

Since the affair at Ticonderoga (which is become my nickname at times), people here, members of the Congress and others, have unhappily and erroneously thought me a schemer; this has brought on me rather

more than my share of business, out doors at least, in the Committee way. I find however that he that has the least to do in public affairs, stands the fairest chance for happiness.

If General Washington set out on Thursday, he will be in New York early on Saturday, where affairs will doubtless detain him until Monday or Tuesday, and in that case he will be with you on the Friday following. He is no lover of parade, so do not put yourself in distress. If it happen conveniently, he will spend one night with you; if not, just call and go on. Should he spend a night, his retinue will, doubtless, the chief of them go on to Hartford.

As to an adjournment, it is still a matter of doubt. I hear Mr. Henshaw is in town; may write again by him. Tell Mr. Hosmer I received his favor of the 6th last evening, and will write to him by Henshaw. May add to this; if not, farewell until the next opportunity, not one of which have I let slip since my leaving home.

I am, my Dear, Yours,

S. Deane.

P.S. Love to all. Tell J. Webb there is no [tinn] in the city.

Brother Barn[s] has not answered my last; remember me to him. Brother Barz[a] has forgot to write; and John, I suppose, understands French only, and cannot write. Sister Hannah, Sally, dear Jesse, &c., are before me, as are all my friends, at this silent hour more forcibly; tho' never absent from me, but constantly the objects of my warmest wishes.

Don't forget brother Buck, nor any of the family.

Saturday morning, 5 o'clock. After a few hours restless tossing on my bed, I am knocked up by Col. Schuyler, to go on business again; and having left my letter unclosed, take up my pen just to tell you that Mr. Hosmer and some others owe me a letter, and that our people [at the] Camp are not careful to write

us the particulars of their situation. If their whole attention is taken up in guarding against the enemy, I rejoice; for they may depend they have an Argus to deal with in General Burgoyne.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 266.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

Philadelphia, June 22d, 1775.

My Dear,—This will be handed you by his Excellency General Washington, in company with General Lee, and retinue. Should they lodge a night in Wethersfield, you will accommodate their horses, servants, &c., in the best manner at the taverns, and their retinue will likely go on to Hartford.

We this moment received advice of a battle at Bunker's Hill, but the account is very confused. It is said to have happened on Saturday last, and the news arrived here this morning.

I have wrote you so lately and so particularly [that] I have nothing in the small way to add, and on business, I dare not think other than is before me. May God preserve us!

I am, my Dear, Yours &c.,

S. Deane.

Mr. Mifflin, of whom I have often spoke, is a Major in the militia here, and is Aid-de-camp as I hear to the General. He is my particular friend, and I am happy in the thought that you will be able to return some of the many civilities I have received from him in this city. If ever there was true spirit and patriotism in man, he possesses them.

Inclosed is more of North Carolina composition. I gave your compliments to them, and told them of your opinion of Cesar, at which we laughed very heartily.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 268.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

Philadelphia, June 23d, 1775.

My Dear,—I parted with Gen. Washington yesterday, at about six miles from this city, and conclude, before you receive this, you will have had the pleasure of waiting on him. On last evening Dr. Smith preached a sermon to the Second Battalion of this city and a vast concourse of people. I went, as I knew the Doctor's ability, though you know I had none of his principles, and was most agreeably entertained with a discourse of about thirty minutes, from Joshua 20th & "The Lord he is God of Gods," &c. It will appear in print; therefore will say no more than this: It exceeded in style and sentiment anything I ever heard on the subject. As the Doctor has been called an High Churchman, and one that had a Bishopric in expectation, I hope his thus publicly sounding the pulpit alarm on the subject of Liberty will be an example to the church clergy elsewhere, and bring them off from the line of conduct which they have hitherto ingloriously pursued. You will write me in your next, the reception which the Gentlemen met with in Connecticut, and what your opinion is of them. I may not add, as the post waits.

I am, your most affectionate husband,

S. Deane.

Monday, June 25th. I missed the opportunity of sending the above. We are at present in the most uneasy of all situations, that of suspense. News of a battle is arrived, but the particulars are very confused. I hear Capt. Chester was in the hottest part of it, and lost three men. Write me, I pray you, all the particulars.

Tuesday morning. Nothing further has arrived. Gen. Sullivan sets off this day for the army. He is appointed a Brigadier, and is of New Hampshire. My last letter from you was of the 10th ins^{t} and it is now

the 26th. My compliments to all friends. If my brother fits out his vessel at all, he cannot make too great dispatch.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 269.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

Philadelphia, June 29th, 1775.

My Dear,—I hope before this you have seen General Washington and friends, on their way, in health and spirits. The bearer of this is General Gates, of Virginia, a gentleman of great experience in war, and who leaves an affluent and independent situation, for the service of these Colonies. If he call on you, you will receive him with the respect due to his character. He is appointed Adjutant-General, to rank as Brigadier-General.

I have no time to write Mr. Webb a particular letter; wrote him last night on business; my respects to him and the whole of both families. You will introduce him to the General, and ask him to give him directions on the road, and assist as far as possible in forwarding his journey.

I am, my dear, yours,

S. Deane.

The General's name is Horatio Gates, an Englishman; served as Major in the regular army, through the last war.

Anecdote. The Riflemen are raising fast. A commission is given to one Mr. Cresop to command, from Virginia. He being absent when it arrived, his father, the brave old Colonel Cresop, now ninety-two years of age, took the command, and determines to join the army at their head, if his son should not arrive in season. I saw a letter from him this morning, which exceeded anything I ever read. I will if possible get a copy.

Remember my caution as to my letters.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 274.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

Philadelphia, July 1st, 1775.

My Dear,—I wrote you yesterday by Gen. Gates, on his way to join the army. Received yours of the 26th ins[t] but have not time to be particular, as the bearer, Major Morgan, is in haste to join the army, only that Col. Schuyler has left us to take command of the forces in New York Government, and whether our scheme will be carried into execution or not is at present uncertain; on this rely, I shall ever be mindful of you, my friends, and my country, and labor to serve them.

Doct[r] Franklin is with us, but he is not a speaker, tho' we have I think his hearty approbation and assent to every measure. But, my dear, times like this call up genius which slept before, and stimulate it in action to a degree that eclipses what might before have been fixed as a standard. The war will not last seven years, if I have any judgment in matters; and as to powder, I hope the measures we are taking will procure a supply; but I do not approve of wasting it on batteries, ships, &c., however much I approve of and applaud the bravery of our men. I hope General Washington answered the character I gave him; I only wish he had a better regulated and provided army to command, but hope for the best; if we can worry them thro' this campaign, resources will be procured or relief obtained. I have the fullest assurance that these Colonies will rise triumphant, and shine to the latest posterity, tho' trying scenes are before us, which our wise Father is in mercy exercising us with at this day. Towns wrapt in flames, garments rolled in blood, the fields of the husbandman loaded with military preparation and parade, and parents, wives, children, in anxious and soul-torturing expectation for, or weeping over, the fate of their dear connections,—these are scenes distressing, but they are necessary for the good of the whole, and it is for us to encounter

them with cheerfulness and alacrity. For my own part, I believe the cabinet will be my station, but am equally free to take the field if occasion call for me.

Parson Jarvis may be expected to speak what he wishes for, but thank God he and other wretches of his stamp will be disappointed, the Congress unanimously resolving to stand by the General with their lives and fortunes.

You must tell J. Webb I cannot write him; I sent him four dozen gun locks yesterday, and can send him more if he wants. The riflemen are, part of them, on their march, and I wish our troops would imitate their uniform, as it is cheap and light.

I am, with love to all of both families and a kind remembrance of neighbors,

Your most affectionate Husband,

S. Deane.

Tell my brother to get his vessel away as quick as possible, somewhere or other, if he sends her at all; this is what the merch^{ts} are doing here. Whether the ports will be stopped before September is quite uncertain, but his vessel can do no good here, unless he make a privateer of her; and indeed I hope to see vessels of war on our side soon.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 275.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

Saturday, July 8th, 1775.

My Dear,—I have wrote you many letters. My last was by Gov. Skene, who set off yesterday for Wethersfield, who carried letters from me. His companion, Lunday, is a specious, stupid, profligate fellow. I caution you and my friends against taking any particular notice of him. His finances are, as I understand, as low as his character. J. Webb, &c., ought to take care of him, in the credit way.

You ask when I return. This is a hard question. If we do not adjourn, I see no prospect of returning before October. If we agree to adjourn, you may expect me in three weeks or thereabouts. I sent you one of Dr. Smith's sermons; had the pleasure last evening of hearing my favorite Duché, on the same subject, preached to Col. Dickinson's (the Farmer) Regiment, and a vast concourse of people. It will be published; so need not say anything more than that you will never, by reading, have the same idea of it as those who heard it.

Your letter of the 3d is now come to hand, and I find your opinion of the Generals and Mr. Mifflin agrees with mine. The latter is greatly missed in this city, as he was the soul of everything either civil or military here; not that the military fails, but it does not increase as it would under his animating and indefatigable endeavors.

Pray why is Barzillai gone to the camp? Does Barna[s] intend his Brig[a] for sea? I advised him to make dispatch, and shall write him again by this post.

The Congress are in good health, notwithstanding their confinement to business without the least intermission. If we tarry until fall, nothing but your want of health will, I trust, prevent your seeing this city and returning with me.

I am, my dear, yours,

S. Deane.

I think it a pity that Middletown was disappointed. I gave the General letters to Mr. Hosmer, but I wish his Excellency had wholly missed Hartford, since they exerted themselves so faintly to wait on him. I hope Jos. Webb's going to camp with the General will enable him to procure a berth for Samuel Webb, which I recommended him to; an honorable though a dangerous one, but I think that must now be his course of life for the future.

Sunday, July 9th, 1775.

My Dear,—Yesterday I wrote, or rather blotted the inclosed, at table in the Congress, which send you without apology. Mr. Wykoff invited me in the morning to take a ride with him, after Congress, on horseback, into the Jersies. The Congress held until after five o'clock; returning to my lodgings found him, with horses ready; ate an hasty dinner, and mounted. Five miles of our road lay through the rich and beautiful meadows of this town, when we crossed the Delaware to the city of Gloucester (ten degrees inferior to Rocky-Hill, but all are cities here, that have corporate privileges), thence six miles to Woodbury, where night overtook us, or met us, for all was a wood beyond. Here a Company of one hundred had been closing the labor of the week with military exercise, in their rifle dress, and were now washing away the remembrance of their fatigue at the tavern. Woodbury affords but one tavern, even where every man may have a license for asking and forty shillings per annum.

My friend meeting the man he had business with there, we agreed to ride four miles further and lodge with him. He conducted us through a wood not unlike Suffield plain, until we arrived at his mansion, on the brink of a creek and good meadow. He most hospitably called up his wife, who, making no apology, filled her pan with bacon and eggs, put a skillet of chocolate on the fire, and prepared for supper, while he made a bowl of toddy. Our supper was of the above preparation, with cucumbers, butter, and cheese. I drank a bowl of chocolate, while my delicate citizen plied the bacon and eggs close, which I avoided, knowing by experience the effects on my head. We lodged together, and in the morning (Sunday) had coffee, cucumbers, and gammon, and egg rum; all which complaisance as well as hunger urged us to partake of. After breakfast we walked out to view his farm. He milks upwards of twenty cows; has a fine English

horse, called Liberty (to which Wildair is not equal), which cost him more than two hundred pounds, though the whole furniture of his house would be a bad bargain at thirty pounds.

We set out at about nine o'clock, and returned. The country here, were it not for now and then a creek which has a little meadow on its bank, would be no great way superior to Suffield Plains. It bears good rye, but cannot support wheat. I am thus particular to give you some idea of the country adjacent on every side; in doing of which I must not forget my ride to German Town, five miles from hence, famous for stocking manufacture. I cannot describe pompous villas or elegant gardens where there are none, unless I meant a romance, and as I mean only to divert you with honest chat, I describe the country as it is. Between this city and German Town there is not one elegant seat, and the greatest improvement on Nature is that on their groves, owing by no means to luxury, but to penury and want. The growth is red oak, interspersed with black walnut, &c. The poor are allowed to cut up the brush and trim the lower limbs; this leaves the groves in the most beautiful order you can imagine. All is clean on the ground; removing every shrub and brush, leaves the wind free play to sweep the floor, and the soil, by no means luxuriant, shooting up the trees rather sparingly, so much grass starts as to give a pale green carpet; while the trees are trimmed up ten to fifteen feet on their trunks, and give the eye a prospect far into the grove, and the footman or horseman free access. This is the state of the groves near this city, by a stranger supposed to be natural entirely, which (this trimming and gleaning of the poor excepted) is really the case. I am the more particular on this, as the London or Gentleman's Magazine mentions this appearance of their groves as the simple effect of nature, in which opinion I joined, until ocular demonstration convinced me of the contrary.

German Town consists of one street, built entirely of rough stone, two miles nearly in length; and the houses correspond to the appearance of the inhabitants, rough children of nature, and German nature, too. I cannot add on this subject; a handsome lady might be shown here as a monster, and had the women (or what they call such) any spirit, they would hunt her down as a phenomenon in nature, portending evil to society. Satire apart, in sober truth, I can give you no description but what must beggar the real appearance of the country-women near this city. Yet my landlady in the Jersies, by her hospitality and simplicity (for she was young and a Quaker), made me almost think her handsome; though I found that her husband putting on regimentals and exercising, grieved her conscience not a little.

New England, with all its foibles, must be the glory and defence of America, and the cry here is, Connecticut forever, so high has the universally applauded conduct of our Governor, and the brave intrepidity of old Gen. Putnam and his troops, raised our Colony in the estimation of the whole continent. I am sorry I did not know of Col. Read going on, or I should have mentioned him to you most particularly, as he is a gentleman of a most amiable character in private and public life, and from whom I have received every mark of civility; but I supposed him only going on to New York.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 280.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

[July 15, 1775.]

My Dear,—I have only time to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 11th, and to assure you that I am so far from thinking hard of you for not writing oftener, that I have to return you my warmest thanks for so many of your agreeable letters, and in particular

for that in which you inform me that you are better in health than the last summer.

The weather has for the last week been extreme, though a little moderated by showers; yet the air is excessive bad, which, added to our close confinement to business, is almost too much; for from the 10th of May, we have not had, Sundays excepted, one day's respite from nine in the morning to four P. M.; and then, at times, by Committees, on to ten or eleven at night. Judge what an easy time we have.

You know (tho' I pay no compliment to your taste, by reminding you) that I am the most indifferent in female or ladies' company of any man in the world, yet I try now and then to chat away an hour in a mixed company, merely to chase away the spleen; for, as to my description of the ladies here, at which you hint, refer you to my description of the Review, my ride to Germantown, &c.; or if that will not answer, take the following anecdote: A brother delegate, remarkably fond of fine ladies, at a late Fair, when the whole country was collected, asked me if I saw one pretty girl. I replied in the negative. He was then very free (as he is well acquainted in N. England, tho' not an inhabitant of it,) in praise of your ladyships there, and, taking a guinea out of his pocket, says: "Deane, here is a vast crowd of girls; I will follow you, and the first that you shall say has a pretty face, I will give the guinea to." We stroll'd thro' the whole Fair, and though I sincerely wished to make him lose the guinea, yet I could not in conscience say that I found one handsome face. From this, judge of the general complexion of females here.

I am informed that the late arrangement of affairs is highly displeasing to Wooster and Spencer, and that high words have passed on the occasion; that Wooster talks high of his thirty years' service, and that Spencer left his forces to shift for themselves, though expecting hourly to be attacked, to return home and pray an alteration. I see the bottom of the whole, and am

well aware that the storm is raised, or at least blown up, by others, and am at no loss to foresee the direction of it; but am determined to do my duty, and will on no occasion sacrifice the good of my country to the whim of any old man, or old woman rather, or their sticklers.

When Wooster was appointed, I washed my hands of the consequences, by declaring him, in my opinion, totally unequal to the service. This I did openly in the face of the Assembly. And if I thought him unfit for a Major General of Connecticut forces only, could any one think I would oppose the voice of the Continent and my own sentiments by laboring to prefer him to Putnam, on whom by every acc^{t} the whole Army has depended ever since the Lexington battle? I wish all such men would leave our army at once. As to Spencer, I once had a good opinion of him; but his leaving the forces in the manner I hear he has shocks it very greatly, and if true, I wish him to resign at once and let another take his place.

Pray listen to these reports, and inform me how far I am charged with being active in this arrangement. I have various reasons to expect their friends will father it all on the old scape goat, as Sherman is known to be in favor of Wooster, and Dyer and Spencer are brother Councillors. If the war lasts, I hope matters will come into a more regular and decisive course than they ——. [The rest is wanting.]

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 287.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

Philadelphia, July 20th, 1775.

My Dear,—Yours of the 13th I received last evening, and am glad to find the good and virtuous of Connecticut are willing to stand by the Resolutions of the Congress, who, in the appointment of Gen. Putnam, acted on principles as much superior to those which

actuate the dissatisfied, as Heaven is superior to earth. Putnam's merit rung through this Continent; his fame still increases,—and every day justifies the unanimous applause of the continent. Let it be remembered, he had every vote of the Congress; and his health has been the second or third at almost all our tables in this city. But it seems he does not wear a large wig, nor screw his countenance into a form that belies the sentiments of his generous soul; he is no adept either at political or religious canting and cozening; he is no shake-hand body; he therefore is totally unfit for everything but fighting; that department I never heard that these intriguing gentry wanted to interfere with him in. I have scarce any patience. O Heaven! blast, I implore thee, every such low, narrow, selfish, envious manœuvre in the land, nor let one such succeed far enough to stain the fair page of American patriotic politics!

General Washington writes, that Spencer left his post without so much as waiting on him, or sending him a single word of his intentions. You can be at no loss to infer what opinion is formed of him from this conduct, in doors and out. Suffice it to say, the voice here is, that he acted a part inconsistent with the character either of a soldier, a patriot, or even of a common gentleman. To desert his post in an hour of danger,—to sacrifice his Country, which he certainly did as far as was in his power,—and to turn his back sullenly on his General, a General too of such exalted worth and character,—will, I can assure you, unless he take the most speedy and effectual measures to atone, draw down upon him the resentment of the whole Continent.

I am daily and hourly making as fair weather as possible of this transaction, and a painful task it is. It is one I am unused to, and therefore labor hard to gloss over what I condemn from the bottom of my soul. But my principles are (the Eye of my God knows them, and the most envious eye of Man or the

bitterest tongue of Slander cannot find anything in my political conduct to contradict them), they are, to sacrifice all lesser considerations to the service of the whole, and in this tempestuous season to throw cheerfully overboard, private fortune, private emoluments, and all partial or interested views, even my Life,—if the Ship with the jewel Liberty on board may be saved. This being my line of conduct, I have a calmness of mind, I thank God, resulting from such resolutions, which more than balances every external trouble; of which I have not a few, and of which the late conduct of a part of our officers, in support of Spencer, is not the least. Inclosed I send a letter for Parsons, which please to read, then copy, seal, and forward. I will say no more on the very disagreeable subject, than that the copy and this letter may hereafter shew my sentiments at the time.

I am glad our Assembly did not interpose in favor of Spencer. They have hereby acted up to the high character they sustain with the Congress; and the only consistent part he, Spencer, can now act is to throw up his commission, and give place to men who do not think it degrading to serve their country though they have not the highest feather in their cap. Let them look at Major Mifflin, who is a member of the Continental Congress, a respectable one too, yet he condescends to act as Aid-de-camp, and of course ranks no higher than Samuel Webb, whose appointment I rejoice at, and own I procured it for him; but not because he was my friend, but because he merits it, and will, if it please God to preserve him, make an officer of the first rank and character, when some blusterers of the present hour are forgotten,—or I am much mistaken. At the time I recommended Capt. Chester, I did not think he would accept, but I knew he deserved it. On that motive I acted; his conduct has justified my voice in his favor, and will, I doubt not, justify what I have said and wrote to the Generals in his favor; and expect soon to hear of his promotion,

which I shall with pleasure. I recommended, without solicitation, my friend, Jos. Trumbull, and have been happy enough to find him successful in an honorable and important, though a very laborious station. My interest in our Assembly has been something; in the Congress, it is as large as my vanity could wish; but God forbid I ever use it but to promote the meritorious, and my rule of judging of those must be by actual specimens of their conduct, not by Squireship or Cousinship.

The Rev. Mr. Duché in the forenoon, and Dr. Allison this afternoon, entertained the Congress, at church and meeting. Such a Fast was never before observed in this city; Sunday was never so strictly kept.

I lent my chaise to Mr. Sherman yesterday, and it is broke to pieces; but shall repair it, I believe, by a new one, for the old one is totally broke and destroyed. I have receiv'd so many letters which I have been obliged to answer, that, with public business, it has engrossed my whole time, early and late, and have not been able to answer them all. Excuse me to your honored father and other friends, who may think I have neglected them.

I send on what is called the Shirt Uniform, or rifle dress, as a sample or pattern, and wish it may be adopted. Jn° Deane is much in my mind, but have no time to write him; I wish him to follow for the present his mathematical studies, if he has no chance for getting abroad. Compliments to Dr. Fairnsworth, Capt. Riley, Goodrich, &c. &c., including all inquiring friends. We shall, I believe, have a recess in about a fortnight, of about six or seven weeks, when I mean to return. I must write you on other subjects in my next, and am, with particular regards to all of the families with which we are connected, my dear,

Your affectionate Husband,

S. Deane.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 289.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

Philadelphia, July 23d, 1775.

My Dear,—I replied particularly to your's, respecting Spencer, and inclosed a letter to Parsons, both of which, I trust, you received. Nothing new has since occurred worth transmitting. The Congress (I think) will adjourn in two weeks, to the 10th of September, but whether to meet here or in Connecticut, uncertain. If here, the time will admit only of seeing my friends and returning in season; in which case the Southern gentlemen will not return at all, but some of them take a tour to the camp, or elsewhere in New England. I hope to be home in three weeks, if I get my carriage repaired in season; it must be made, in a manner, new. Mr. Sherman is, I think, peculiarly unfortunate, at Philadelphia, tho' by no means faulty.

I may not add; and indeed should not have wrote this, but that I will let no opportunity slip me, if it give me only the pleasure of saying, How d'ye do? Remember me to all, particularly to Sally. How is the weather? Are not the evenings warm?

This is stolen from Sunday, after hearing two elegant war sermons.

S. Deane.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 293.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

Trenton, Sept^{r} 10th, 1775.

My Dear,—Tho' I have made but moderate stages, I have somehow, thro' an indisposition for writing, omitted putting pen to paper except to keep my account of expenses, since I left home. In my last journey I over-wrote; so one must atone for the other. I reached New Haven the first night, Norwalk the next, and The Bridge on Thursday. Friday morning we rode to Mr. Bayard's, at Greenwich, where we met

with a most hospitable reception; and he sent for the boats, which set us over about three miles above the city, which delayed us so long that we only reached Newark that evening. The next day brought us to Princeton, and this morning we rode hither, expecting Meeting; but missing, we shall pursue our journey and reach, accidents excepted, Philadelphia this evening. Thus you have our journey in short hand.

Gov^r^ Ward joined us at New Haven, and Mr. Cushing; so that we have had just company enough to be agreeable. Col. Dyer has been unwell, but not so as to delay us. I met Mrs. Mifflin, this morning, bound for the Camp. If she pass thro' Wethersfield, wish you to be acquainted with her. She is a most agreeable lady, and worthy your notice on every account, but more particularly as you propose visiting Philadelphia; of which, more hereafter.

You can expect nothing new from us here; indeed, I am running away from news. Tell J. Webb and my brother to send all they can pick up after me.

I am, with kind remembrance of all friends,

My Dear, Yours,

S. Deane.

P. S. I called at Mr. Tetard's, and find he has gone Chaplain into the army at Ticonderoga. This you must tell brother Simeon.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 304.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

Philadelphia, Sept. 15th, 1775.

My Dear,—I wrote you from Trenton last Sunday, but miss'd a conveyance until on Tuesday, by the Stage, to care of Mr. Hazard; hope you received it. I think I promised you a long letter in it as soon as I arrived here, which I shall disappoint you of, tho' this, by Brown, is sure of coming safe to hand; for which,

want of spirits, occasioned by a severe cold, must be my excuse.

I have been casting in my mind how to procure you a passage to this place. Suppose Mr. Webb, who wants to come at least as far as N. York, could contrive to put his light horse, with two others, into Brown's Stage, and so come on to New York, where I would meet you, with my carriage. Think of this, and write me by the first post after the receipt of this.

Tell my brother Simeon that Monsieur Tetard is gone Chaplain to the New York forces; so that his views of studying with him are over, for the present. The Congress have hardly begun business, New Hampshire and N. Carolina being absent. This city is still busy in military parade and preparation. It is well they are, for something is necessary to keep them employed, and to divert their attention from the melancholy appearance of their River, destitute of navigation. No less than sixty sail left this place on the day the Non-exportation took place, and none have arrived since, except one ship from London. There is nothing new worth sending you thus far. Pray forward me a letter from your father, as soon as received. I am, my dear,

Yours,

S. Deane.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 305.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

Philadelphia, Sept. 22d, 1775.

My Dear,—This, by Mr. Bird of Virginia, is my fourth letter since I left home, but have not had the pleasure of receiving one line save from my brother Bar[s]. I wish to know whether you propose to keep your word, and see Philadelphia. If so, in what readiness are you, and how do you propose to set out? I sent a piece of linen by Capt. Champlin, which cost

six shillings this currency p^{r} yard, which hope you have received.

The Congress begin to talk out-doors of adjourning eastward, as far as Albany or Hartford ; therefore judge it best for you to set out as early as the first of October for this place. Have nothing new worth sending you. Compliments to all friends. Love to the family. Am in my old usual way, Committeeing it away, and busy as usual.

Am your affectionate husband,

SILAS DEANE.

Sunday, Sept. [24th]. This was to have gone by Mr. Bird of Virginia, but he set out without my knowledge of the time. The weather is very cool here for this season ; therefore, if you determine on coming down, the time fixed above will be a good one, though, by the way, I see no end to our business, and it is as extensive as endless. How ran Elections ? Though personally I do not feel myself interested, however agreeable to one of my sensibility the suffrages of one's countrymen are, yet one great object swallows up, like Aaron's rod, all the lesser. Liberty or Death is before us, and I can conceive of no alternative : if the former, it will take a long time to obtain and afterwards settle it on a permanent basis ; if the latter (as I trust no American patriot will so desert himself as to prefer a short existence in Slavery to it), why then, it will but shorten a life of care and anxiety.

We expect intelligence from Great Britain every hour. I am impatient for it ; not that I think it will alter our measures, for I am very confident as to the complexion of it, before it arrives ; but, that the least and every shadow of an excuse for not pursuing the most vigorous measures may be removed from the really timid and those pretendedly so. You must not expect long letters from me, as I am more taken up than when here last summer, and among other things the settlement of our Continental expences and

charges of the war has fell to the lot of a Committee of which I am one. I have therefore no time of my own; if I had, it should be yours and my friends; so excuse me to Mr. Hosmer &c.

Adieu.

Have you heard anything of your missing letter?

I dined yesterday with Mr. Rutledge and Lady. She inquired after you, and says you promised her to come down with me.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 307.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

[Philadelphia, Oct. 2d, 1775.]

My Dear,—Yours of the 24th ult. received yesterday. I thank you for welcoming me to the lovely City of Philadelphia, but I hardly know a place but I should be happier in, save among my distressed sick neighbours in Wethersfield. The sight of the eye affects even the hardest heart; mine is too easily affected, and public miseries are surely enough for one thinking, feeling mind at a time. Of these, the prospect, the apprehension, is ever before me; not only on my heart, but as I may say, in my hands, continually. My sincerest condolence awaits however all the unfortunate; those in Wethersfield in particular, whose remembrance of me so repeatedly, in my absence, will ever render them dear to me while I have sense or recollection left. Mr. May's loss must be a cutting one, as he is fond of his children, and I think had great reason to be fond of this. But I often say to myself, Blessed are the dead, if, as Hamlet says, in that same Sleep of theirs, there were no Dream. You will think me melancholy, and you are not much out of the way. The Soul-distressing uncertainty in which we are, respecting our Northern friends, with the weight and fatigue of business, is almost too much. I

will shake it off for a more agreeable subject,—your proposed journey. The Col. proposed, for Brown to bring you as far as New York, where one of us would meet you, on previous notice. I do not like Brown's c[oach, and] made no bargain, but directed him to shew it to Mr. Webb and you, [for] your opinion of that plan.

The season is advancing, and I am sure the business of the Congress will not soon be completed. By all the acco[ts] from London, the inveteracy of the Ministry is increasing, and nothing in their power will be left unattempted to reduce us to their humiliating terms. The reduction of Montreal and Quebec would put a very good face on our affairs, and give the ministry a blow, indeed. The most cool and moderate men among us, now sing the same song which I rung in their ears last May and June until they almost called me mad, and tell me plainly every day, "We now wish we had followed your advice in season." This is some satisfaction—but the poorest in the world—to have your opponents own you were right, when too late to take advantage of it, either for them or ourselves. I will however hope the best.

I was urged week before last, on hearing of Gen. Schuyler's illness, to go in person to that Army; not so much to command, as to advise and assist. This was in a private club, but I discouraged the proposal, and it went no further. I have vanity enough to think myself a tolerably good contriver and manager in such an Assembly as this, but am not vain enough to think myself fit for a General Officer. I have indeed tho't it my duty to stay here, otherwise should have gone northward on a former occasion. I am enlisted in the general service, and must take my post, if possible, where I have a chance of doing most service.

I think that the 10th of this month will be late enough for you to set out, if you can be ready by that time. This comes by Col. Williams and Mr. Wales, who have paid us a visit; the former, cool and stiff as

you please, but I trust I have not been deficient in complaisance to him. I suppose Connecticut politicians have been busy, and that the Nomination will be varied, but I hope not very greatly, as I wish for the old, steady plan of the Colony, in preference to any private view, either for myself or friends. Am a little surprized that Col. Seymour missed his election for Hartford, but duplicity and haughtiness are two [of] the worst ingredients in nature for a Connecticut statesman. Adieu to this subject. I suppose all friends are well; my love to them. When is Sally to be married?

I am, my dear,
Your affectionate husband,
S. Deane.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 308.

From James Lockwood.

Fort George, Octo^{r} 16th, 1775.

Dear Sir,—I wrote you a few days since, but as M^{r} Bedford has been detained longer than he expected, shall trouble you again with some particulars which otherwise, perhaps, you will not be made acquainted with.

I have already informed you that the New England Troops are universally disaffected with General Scuyler. I find, since, that the disaffection is by no means confined to the New England Troops, there being none who return from across the Lake, a few of his particular friends excepted, that speak well of him. But they all agree that the whole of the Army (even the New York Forces, the best of whom were originally New England people, being raised upon the Skirts of the Province,) were fervently praying for the arrival of General Wooster, who will push on as fast as possible. I expect, with the remainder of the Regiment, to imbark with him to-morrow if the Boats

arrive; the greater part have already crossed the Lake. I am sure he will exert himself to prevent every mischief & to give success to the enterprise; but their being two Gen^{ls} above him, I know not what he can do to quiet the minds of the Troops. The most of the Officers upon this Station, who are all of this province, have already waited upon General Wooster with Complaints, in hopes it would be in his power to relieve them. In short, S^{r}, there never was an Army in such confusion & such a general uneasiness through all Ranks, Officers as well as Soldiers. They tell me that it is at least very doubtful whether S^{t} Johns can be taken before the first of December, which, being the time the New England Troops enlisted for, I greatly fear they will then, almost to a man, leave the service & the New York Forces at the end of the month, the consequence of which, unless some precautions are taken to prevent it, must be, the Canadians will be under a necessity of joining with our Enemies, & poor Arnold & his party must be sacrificed, besides innumerable other, perhaps fatal, consequences which you know must follow from a failure in an enterprise of such magnitude.

I can write freely to you, as I am sure you will impute it to a real concern for the Cause, and not to any kind of prejudice for or against any man or body of men. I am not unacquainted how apt Soldiers are to report groundless, ilnatured Stories about Officers, neither do I believe one fiftieth part of the complaints against General Scuyler have any real foundation in truth. He has certainly had a most arduous, very disagreeable piece of business of it, & has done perhaps as much if not more than any other man could do; yet thus it is, neither the Officers nor Soldiers of the Army love him, and Montgomery, who has been the Darling of the Army, they now complain much of. I am informed very directly that General Scuyler has received two or three letters from different Officers at S^{t} Johns complaining of him; in short, S^{r}, it certainly

ever was & ever will be of the greatest importance that every General Officer is well acquainted with the genius, temper & dispositions of the people that compose his Army. Our N. England people will not at once submit to the usage frequently practised among Regular Troops. It is my opinion that the greater part of the uneasiness has arisen from this quarter. Heaven grant that more fatal consequences may not follow from it. I understand that the Congress have ordered a large supply of cloathing for this department. I could wish they had also ordered the Troops that are to wear them, for those who now compose the Army declare in the most positive manner they will not stay one minute after their time is up under the present commanding Officer. As they are so anxious to see Gen[l] Wooster, I hope he can persuade them to make a push & do something which, from the representations I can collect, is almost the only rational hope I have left. You may depend that I have taken great care to inform myself fully of the truth of the above representation. God grant that the Congress may in their wisdom find out some remedy for the Evils which I think we have so much reason to dread. I am, dear S[r], with great truth & sincerity,

Your most Obed[t] Hble Serv[t],

JA[S] LOCKWOOD.

Silas Deane, Esq[r].

Thomas Mss.

TO MRS. ELIZABETH DEANE.

Philadelphia, Oct. 17th, 1775.

MY DEAR,—J. Webb tells me you talk of not coming to see me. I don't know but you are in the right of it, for my business here will give me no time to wait on you, except between the hours of ten at night and seven in the morning, out of which, if we borrow from sleep, it will not be much. I rise at six, write until seven, dress and breakfast by eight, go to the

Committee of Claims until ten; then in Congress till half-past three or perhaps four; dine by five, and then go either to the Committee of Secrecy, or of Trade until nine; then sup and go to bed by eleven. This leaves little room for diversion or anything else, and to tell you the truth, I expect this kind of life must be my lot for some time. I shall, however, steal away and meet you at New York, unless my Brother, to whom I have wrote, or J. Webb will wait on you quite down. I think it will be for the interest of one or both to be here, just at this time. You have wrote me but two letters since I left home. Love to all.

I am yours

S. DEANE.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 312.

FROM JOHN TRUMBULL.

[New Haven,] October 20th, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—I am nearly in Tristram Shandy's Case at present, in his Chapter of things. I have in this letter, a thing to congratulate, a thing to condole, a thing to introduce, & a thing to enquire; all which I shall do with the best method possible, the two first relating to you & the two last to myself. In the first place then I heartily congratulate you on your being now in the Nomination for one of the Council for this Colony. I should not have thought this so much, but that some of your good friends have been raising a variety of very clever stories about & your proceedings, with a design of prejudicing the Freemen against you. I doubt not you will be able to survive all their malice & envy, tho' you know we have strange people, here as well as elsewhere.

Secondly—You have heard of our Assembly's Choice of Delegates for the next Congress. Have you heard what motives they proceeded on? It is dangerous, they say (I am going to write a vindication of them)

It is dangerous to trust so great a power as you now have, for a long time in the hands of one Set of Men, lest they should grow too self-important & do a great deal of mischief in the end. Very well; there may be something in that. On the other hand, say they, it is not best to change all at once, lest the new men should not know where the others broke the thread, & so be unable to find the end. Good again. Now, was there ever a better expedient to avoid all danger on both sides, than to drop all those who are capable of doing mischief, & at the same time send one who is as well able to keep his finger on the place where ye left off, as the best of you? For my part, viewed in this light only, I take it for a master-stroke of Connecticut policy. But there is yet more in the matter. You know, Sir, we esteem it a matter of some consequence to the Colony, to send to the Congress men of politeness & gentility, as it may give the other Delegates a better opinion of our Good-breeding in Connecticut. Can it then be wondered at, that we should chuse again a Man, allowed on all hands to be the Politest Gentleman of our Age? As this last paragraph is a little obscure, I beg leave to explain it in a few words. It is allowed that we thought yourself & Col. Dyer, tolerably polite men, when you were first chosen Delegates to the Congress; yet it was observed on all hands that, on your return, you did not seem at all altered, either in your manners or your dress; you had made no proficiency in Gentility. We considered the Congress as a school of politeness, at which you seemed incapable of learning. You must pardon us, therefore, if we gave you up as unteachable or incorrigible. While your Colleague returned so bod-wigg'd, so shortskirted (new Ideas require new terms), so silkstocking'd, so small-hatted, in short so universally bemacaronied, that nothing since the last Comet has glittered with so much splendor, or been stared at with such amazement. And then his Sulky, in which he rode last to Philadelphia—what wheel-carriage, since Ezekiel's vision, could ever equal

it? You know he turned off an old honest Chair-box to give it admittance, & fixed it on between the wheels in such a manner that it looked, like an overgrown Go-cart, for Newberry's Children six feet high; & when he came to set it agoing, it had more different motions than the earth—backwards, forwards, progressive, digressive, here a little & there a little, playing up & down, like the balance-wheel of a watch; so that he appeared in it like Addison's Angel "riding in the whirlwind," & went forwards with more dashing & plunging than Arion on the back of the Dolphin. Nor did his internal accomplishments fall below the glory of his outward appearance. Who has not heard of his honesty & his Almanackmaking? All panegyric must sink beneath the inimitability of his eloquence. Demosthenes only can be compared to him; when haranguing on the Seashore, he filled his mouth with pebbles, to aid the natural impediments of his speech. And could we wish his Sun to set when it had but just fairly arisen? when we only began to cry out with Virgil,

Hu, miserande Puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas. Tu *Macaroni* eris.

No, cried the Genius of Connecticut (if it have any),

I decus, I, noster, melioriches utere fatis:

and so sent him again to the Congress. And this I take to be a full & true account of the matter.

Which leads me, clerically, to the third thing proposed. Give me leave, Sir, to introduce to your acquaintance, one Squire Mc Fingal, a Gentleman, who has been a Month or six weeks under my care, & who seems desirous of seeing a little of the world. I can say little more in his commendation than that I believe he is perfectly harmless; for indeed I am, upon longer acquaintance, got pretty much out of conceit of him myself, & if you like him no better I shall not wonder if you order him into close Custody. Without a metaphor, you remember, Sir, last spring you recommended to me to attempt a burlesque on General Gage's vic-

tories. I wrote you an answer, rather declining it, for reasons I then gave you; & you dropped the matter. It ran, however, in my mind, & I had so much regard for your commands, that I attempted a little sketch or two, but without being able to please myself, & so threw aside the thought for that time. But lately on shewing what I had sketched to one or two friends here, they advised me to throw the whole into some consistent form & go on with it. This (as I had nothing else either of business or amusement) I complied with, & it has produced the thing I here send you I know it is too long, & too tedious & too—in short, too badly written & has too little wit in it. But I am heartily tired of it, & if it has no merit now, I shall never give it any. Many would call it inelegant & incorrect, but as my notions of the degree of elegance & correctness proper for this style are not just like the Ideas of your merely grammatical Critics, I would not wish it altered in that respect. My Plan you will see comprehends yours, & takes in a larger field,—& one main view I had, was to record a few of the most inveterate enemies of our Country, whom I should wish to see otherwise gibbeted up than in my verse. If you approve of the piece on the whole, do what you please with it. If any particular part do not answer, strike it out, & preserve the connection in any way you chuse. I am sensible many couplets may be omitted without affecting the sense. If it should appear broad, more notes would perhaps be wanting. I leave it all to your better judgment. If you shew it to any Gentlemen with you, unless M^{r}. J. Adams, I must beg you not to tell the author's name. Do not let the Copy go out of your hands. If you suppress it, I beg you to return it to me. I have no other, except the first rough draft. I have been doubting this fortnight, for it is so long since it was finished, whether to send it you, or consign it to oblivion. On the whole I have determined to send it. And so fourthly & lastly, I have to enquire of you, your opinion of the piece, & what you design to

do with it: which I beg the favour of you by a line, to inform me,—and beg leave to subscribe myself,

With the greatest Respect,
Your very humble Servant.

Silas Deane, Esq^{r}.

Endorsed: John Trumbull, Esq^{r}., Lett^{r}, Oct^{o}. 20, 1775.

Thomas Mss.

From Stephen Hopkins.

Philadelphia, 16th Nov., 1775.

M^{r}. Dean,

Sir,—We received yours of yesterday and observe the contents, and think if you can procure two Vessells that are properly capable of carrying sixteen six pounders each and can be procured on reasonable terms and fitted either in New York or Connecticut, in such manner as they may be able to enter Delaware Bay with proper arms, ammunition and stores for four months, and manned with good seamen and Landmen, within one month from this time, we advise you to purchase them and equip them.

If you should purchase and undertake to equip these Vessels, give us notice by the first opportunity that we may govern ourselves accordingly.

By order of the Committee. I am,
Sir, your humble servant,
Step. Hopkins.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

From the Naval Committee of Congress.

To Silas Deane Esq^{r},—

You are desired to repair immediately to the City of New York and there purchase a ship suitable for carrying 20 nine pounders upon one deck, if such a ship can there be found. Also a sloop suitable to carry ten guns,

which we would choose should be Bermudian built, if such a one can be had. If you succeed in purchasing both, or either of these Vessels, you will use all possible expedition to procure them to be armed and equipped for the Sea.

For this purpose you will apply to, and employ such persons as can carry this business into the most speedy execution. Should there be danger in fitting these Vessells at New York from the King's ships, you may then send the vessels eastward thro the Sound to New London or Norwich in order to be armed and fitted, and there, use every means in your power to procure this to be done with the utmost expedition.

In the Colony of Connecticut, you are to procure powder for both these vessels, and such other Military Stores as can there be had. You will procure the Cannon and other Stores at New York or any other place where it can be done in the best and most expeditious manner. You will also procure Officers and Men suitable for these Vessels.

As soon as these Vessels can possibly be fitted for the Sea, you will order them immediately into Delaware Bay. You will by every opportunity give us the most exact intelligence of all your proceedings by conveyances the most safe and secure that can be obtained. You are empowered to draw on Governor Hopkins for such sums of money as may be necessary for the above business.

Philadelphia, November the 17th, 1775.

STEP. HOPKINS,
CHRIST. GADSDEN,
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
JOSEPH HEWES,
JOHN ADAMS,
JNO. LANGDON.

P. S. In the course of your Journey at New York or elsewhere, you are to employ proper persons to engage experienced, and able-bodied seamen to Man the Ships

now fitting, and who must repair to Philadelphia with all possible dispatch.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

Philadelphia, Nov. 26th, 1775.

My Dear,—Yours of y^e^ 22^d^, rec^d^ last night. Every thing which happens to so near a friend is interesting, however unimportant to the rest of the world. I therefore rejoice at your safe return, and at your finding the families in so good a situation,—to whom my warmest remembrance, and congratulations to the new parents. Tho^s^ Mumford, Esq^r^, arrived here night before last, and his brother, as usual, sticks by the stuff. Col. Dyer increases in fretfulness with the severity of the weather; and brother Roger sets off to-morrow to pay a visit to Connecticut, before the new delegation are seated.

Things are in just the same train as when you left us, and consequently I am quite as willing to quit my station to abler men; and who they are, the Colony knows, or ought to know, best. I did not leave New York until Saturday morning, and then with the mortification of effecting nothing. Was thrown into the most wretched situation, at those two little Ferries, which took us not five minutes to cross, took me near as many hours; the wind and tide conspiring against us, carried us quite down into the Bay, and in short, I was glad to get on shore at any rate, or any where, after well nigh perishing with the cold. At Elisabeth Town, where we dined on Sunday, I dined, and found my friend Jay waiting for me; he took a seat with me, and we had as agreeable a journey as the badness of the roads and weather would admit of; saving that at Woodbridge, where we lodged, somebody finding out that I had two loose coats (for I bought me a new one in New York) very civilly borrowed my old one, without

troubling me with any questions about the matter, or debating which he should take. He also borrowed a pair of shoes and buckles, and some other trifles, of Mr. Jay, and has not called on either of us since. Thus you see it is in vain for me to think of having more than one coat at a time, were I provident enough to lay in so small a stock,—which you know I am not in general.

I del[d] your billet and pattern to Mrs. Trist, who thanks you for your commission, which, when executed, will report.

Believe me, my Dear, my long and thorough acquaintance with y[e] genius of our Assembly prevents my being surprized at any sudden whim they take, or uneasy at any of their Resolutions, so far as they respect myself individually. On a review of the part I have acted on the public theatre of life, an examination of my own genius and disposition, unfit for trimming, courting, and intrigues with the populace, I have greater reason to wonder how I ever became popular at all. What therefore I did not expect, I have too much philosophy to be in distress at losing. I only wish that my friends felt as easy on this occasion as myself. If they knew what fatigues I have undergone, and the disagreeable prospects before me, as to public affairs, they could wish me here, only in confidence that my abilities might be of service to the public, rather than to myself. But of this the Supreme Assembly are best judges, and to them I submit, sincerely praying that the consequences which I think I foresee, necessarily flowing from this measure, may be averted.

I am surprized that Knight should abuse me in the manner he has done. Cost what it will, procure a supply elsewhere.

I should be sorry that you or my friends should manifest any uneasiness on my being superseded; for they who effected it will find, and that soon, the mischief intended recoil on them to their shame and disgrace, or I am greatly mistaken; and at present, God knows I wish the worst of them no other punishment than a

consciousness of the low, envious, jealous and sordid motives by which they are actuated; as, on the other hand, one of the greatest pleasures I enjoy is a consciousness of the rectitude of my intentions and conduct, and the pleasing reflection of being superior to such motives and those actuated by them.

I have wrote a long letter, and on a review it is too much about myself. I will write of some thing of more importance in my next. My compliments to all Friends.

I am, my Dear,
Your affectionate Husband,
S. DEANE.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 323.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

Philadelphia, Dec. 15th, 1775.

I wrote you one line yesterday per Capt. Phelps; since which I am fully convinced this Congress will adjourn before Christmas, if nothing new offers. Naval preparations are now entering upon with spirit, and yesterday the Congress chose a Standing Committee to superintend this department, of which I had the honor to be unanimously chosen one. This will detain me here some time after the 1st of January; indeed, I apprehend that the Congress will leave a number, to put into execution the Resolves of the Congress, together with the Naval Committee, as the adjournment will probably be over to the 1st of March. I do not expect to return sooner, unless it may be to engage workmen in the business, part of which I shall agree to have carried on in the Colony. I hear from Connecticut that I am in irons, and that your journey with Mr. Webb was to see me, and as I shall not return with Col. Dyer, and cyder being plenty, I expect to hear soon of my being hanged, drawn, and quartered.

I wrote to Governor Trumbull a letter on the con-

duct of the Assembly, which he will be obliged to read before them when they meet, and, I think, some people will look small in the issue. If the Assembly sit this winter, I shall endeavor to be at home at the time, at all adventures, to demand a hearing before them, how I have discharged the trust reposed in me, and shall bring with me vouchers for my conduct, from the Congress. My enemies' designs have been, by superseding me in my absence, tacitly to censure me, and leave, by implication, a stigma on my character which they know a public hearing must not only clear up, but tumble them into the pit they have (like moles as they are) been digging for me. They cloak themselves under sanction and authority of Assembly, and have no idea of my asking for a public hearing, which, as they have not censured me directly, they imagine I shall not think of. But I can fairly do it, by desiring to give an acco^{t} of my performance of the duty reposed in me, and justice can never refuse me.

Col. Dyer joined me in the letter, but he somehow grows every day more peevish and is at times absolutely intolerable. I know the cause, and you can guess at it.

Governor Ward has, in a formal manner, laid siege to Mrs. House, and I am apt to think the fortress will surrender on the first serious summons.

Poor Mrs. Christ^{r} Marshall died this morning, suddenly, which has greatly distressed that friendly circle of brothers and sisters. You remember she was D. Mumford's master's wife.

I look out, most impatiently, for your brother Dudley. His Ship is a fine one, of thirty odd guns, and is nearly ready.

The behavior of our soldiers has made me sick; but little better could be expected from men trained up with notions of their right of saying how, and when, and under whom, they will serve; and who have, for certain dirty political purposes, been tampered with by their officers, among whom no less than a General has been busy.

I sent you the silk, cost four dollars the whole, by Capt. E. Phelps, whom I sent Express to Rhode Island, and ordered him to send you the silk by the Post from New Haven. I shall write brother Bar^{s} by this opportunity. You will shew such parts of this letter to such persons as you may judge fit to be seen and to see.

My compl^{ts} to neighboring Friends. Love to the Family and Connections.

I am affectionately yours,

S. Deane.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 339.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

Philadelphia, Dec. 27th, 1775.

My Dear,—I received a letter dated the 19th from one Simeon Deane, who is troubled with the rheumatism, or gout, at the bottom of which are these words: "Mrs. Deane says she would write you, but not having received any letters lately, she thinks proper to wait." As I can hardly credit the story, must leave it with you to enquire into the truth of it. I have indeed been favored with two letters from you since you left us, and have returned five in payment.

Mr. Sherman is returned, but brings no news from our Assembly. Our term is up Saturday next, but I shall hardly set out for home until sometime the middle of January, if so soon, as our Fleet is got stopped by the ice. Your brother Dudley came here last Saturday, and lodges with me for the present. When he will be able to sail depends on the weather.

I wrote you p^{r} Capt. Phelps, and sent the silk, but have no answer as yet. I had no time to write by Mr. Adams, or should have sent one line. My compliments to all friends, and love to Jesse and family.

I am, my dear, yours affectionately,

Silas Deane.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 346.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

Philadelphia, Jan. 13th, 1776.

My Dear,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of yours, p[r] my brother, and one since by the Post, and that I have been promising myself to write you a long letter by him when he returned, which shall be unable to perform. Col. Dyer's treatment at Norwich and Windham is truly infamous, and has that mark of witchcraft upon it which must forever attend ingratitude; for with all his other foibles, one has been his constantly standing up and disputing on all occasions in favor of those very people. He goes home rather heavily, the more so as I shall not accompany him. It is not in my power, though I hope to leave this in about a fortnight after the arrival of my successors, for whom I am now most impatiently looking out, and am happy that the Assembly did not continue us in our present station. You know the dismission never fretted me, indelicate as it was, and I have every day had less and less cause to be uneasy on account of it. As to those who meant to humble me, or mortify my vanity by that measure, they have only given me an opportunity of knowing myself, by experience, and of shewing the world, how much I was their superior, by letting them and others know that my character stands above the reach of their malice, though a fair object for their envy.

My love and congratulations to sister Hannah Buck, and the whole family, which includes Sally, whose first boy will, I expect, be called after me. Remember me to all friends in the neighborhood who remember me, and tell Jesse he must write me again. I long to see you all. Is sister Molly with you? I hope so; and therefore pray to be remembered to her. Barney must inform you how Gov[r] Ward and Mrs. House cheese together, and of twenty other little matters which I cannot write at this late hour, now past two o'clock at night; but will only wish and pray your sleeping and waking hours may be forever happy. Good-night.

Saturday morning. I received a few days since, from before Quebec, two long letters from my brave friend, Col. Arnold, which I improved in his favor, and the other day he was unanimously chosen a Brigadier-General for the Army in Canada; but I suppose this will be urged against me by some as a crime equal to my recommending Putnam on a former occasion. I may not add, but am,

Yours affectionately,

SILAS DEANE.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 347.

TO MRS. ELIZABETH DEANE.

Philadelphia, Jan. 21st, 1776.

MY DEAR,—It is now a long time since I had the happiness of a line from you. As by my former letters you could not expect my immediate return, conclude you waited in part for the return of my brother from N. York before you wrote again. I wrote yesterday by Col. Dyer, which you will probably not receive before this comes to hand. He set off in a violent hurry yesterday morning, and my boy with him, as far as Newark in my Phaëton, from whence he agreed to shift for himself.

I have not sat in Congress since last Tuesday, when, with pleasure, I gave place to my successor, of whom, as our neighbor says, I say nothing.

But of my old colleague Sh——n, suffice it to say, that if the order of the Jesuits is extinct their practices are not out of fashion, even among modern New Light Saints, or some of them, for I will never particularize any Sect.

I received a letter from Mr. T. Mumford, in which, among other political anecdotes, he informed me of the intrigues of a certain party in the Assembly, of the Class or Club at Munson's &c., &c., and of this, that and the other person busy in opposition to me: to which I

replied, with the utmost calmness and sincerity, that I meant to act and speak as I should judge best for the Common Interest, regardless of either censure or applause, and therein I rested, easy and resigned. He mentioned a suspicion that my friend and neighbor, Mr. H——r, had acted rather a cool part on a late occasion. I replied, that I should sooner suspect my own conduct than his honor and friendship. Should any such story get abroad, your prudence will direct you to make no enquiry about it as it will be told you fast enough, and your wisest plan will be to appear totally indifferent on the subject, even if you feel otherways.

I find a certain eminent intriguer from the Great Town, who has of late in the most public and ungrateful manner lifted his heel against the hand that has long and generously fed and supported him, has not been idle with respect to myself; but either his race is near an end, or I am much mistaken; for if a fall generally follows a haughty spirit, his end is near; indeed he has long since been too suspicious a character to enjoy that confidence essentially necessary for carrying out his schemes: and the shocking ingratitude he has shewn our worthy President, whose bounty kept him even from gaol and supported him, will as soon as known excite a general abhorrence of the man.

You will remember that I told you last summer, or rather that I foretold, that those two sworn friends would one day become as sworn foes. I did not think the period so near arrived as I now find. But I will say no more on the ungrateful subject.

Col. Dyer plead, scolded, fretted, and even threatened me, to make me set out for home with him, and finally parted rather in an ill humor with me, because I would not give him all the reasons for my tarrying; conclude it will occasion some speculation, and almost wish to know what reasons he assigns for my tarrying behind. The ostensible reason, and a very good one too, is the necessity of my tarrying to close the Naval Accounts and assist in getting forward the preparations for the

Fleet in the coming season. The Col. however, in his frettish tone and manner, used fifty times a day to break out: "There is no need for it,—no, no, none at all; other people, a thousand other people can do it as well as you; you either have some other scheme in your head, or you don't care any thing about your wife and family," &c. &c. A torrent of such kind of eloquence, peculiar I may say to him, would sometimes almost irritate me to break out; he then would say: "I don't know, I don't know how; why, you see I hate to go home alone, it looks queer and oddly." You know his foibles and his failings,—or rather weakness, for at heart he is a good man and deserved better treatment than he met with from a rascally junto whom he, at the very moment, was laboring to defend and support, and in whose service he has thrown away the prime of his life.

But so far as he sacrificed his own ease, interest, or peace of mind, merely to gain their applause, so far he deserved punishment; but this so far from extenuating *their* crime, heightened it, if ingratitude is capable of being heightened. I mean those party people in his neighborhood, agitated and stirred on by that little malevolent prig in buckram, who is secure from my serious resentment in consequence of the supreme contempt I have ever, and still hold him in.

For myself, I have been seriously reviewing my life, more particularly the public and political occurrences and incidents in it, and impartially—[The rest is wanting.]

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 349.

Memorial of Beaumarchais to the King of France.

Au Roi Seul.

[Submitted in Feb. 1776.]

Sire,—Quand la raison d'Etat vous engage a tendre une main bienfaisante aux Américains; La Politique

exige que Votre Majesté prenne assés de précautions, pour qu'un Secours Secretement porté en Amerique ne devienne pas en Europe, le brandon d'un incendie entre la France et l'Angletere.

D'autre part, la prudence veut que vous acquériés la certitude que vos fonds ne pouront jamais passer en d'autres mains que celles a qui vous les destinés. Enfin l'Etat actuel de vos finances, ne vous permettant pas de faire un aussi grand Sacrifice aujourdui que les evenemens semblent le requérir ; Il est de mon devoir, Sire, de vous presenter, et de Votre Sagesse d'examiner le plan Suivant, dont le premier but est d'ecarter, par une tournure absolument commerçante, le Soupçon que Votre Majesté ou Son conseil entre pour quelque chose dans cette affaire.

Le Second avantage de ce plan est que le Conseil de Votre Majesté poura Suivre vos fonds de l'oeil et Sans fatigue, a travers les echanges et les diverses métamorphoses que le commerce leur fera Subir, depuis la main généreuse qui les dispense Jusqu'a la main reconnaissante qui les recevra ; Sans crainte qu'ils puissent jamais S'égarer en chemin ny Se perdre en des mains infidelles.

Mais le principal mérite de ce plan est d'augmenter l'apparence et mesure la consistance de votre Secours a tel point, qu'en multipliant ces fonds par leur produit, un Seul million elevé a Sa Seconde circulation, produise le mesme résultat pour les américans que Si Votre Majesté avait réèllement deboursé 9 millions en leur faveur. Ce qu'il faut expliquer.

Enfin l'execution de ce plan réunit a tant d'avantages l'importante faculté de restreindre ou d'etendre une continueté de bienfaits au gré de votre prudence, et Selon que la situation des américaīns deviendra plus ou moins pressante : en Sorte que ce Secours, Sagement administré, Serva moins a faire terminer la guerre entre l'amerique et l'angleterre, qu'a l'entretenir et l'alimenter, au grand domage des anglais—nos ennemīs naturels et décidés. Et quand, pour remplir cet impor

tante objèt Votre Majésté Serait forcée d'augmenter la Somme des Secours qu'elle envoye ; Il est bien prouvé que chaque Million que Vous dépenserés, Sire, pour mettre les américains en Etat de défendre leur terrain, contera cent millions aux anglais pour continuer de les y venir attaquer a deux mille lieues du leur. Or, Sacrifier un million pour en faire perdre cent a l'angleterre est exactement comme Si vous avanciés un million pour en gagner quatreviengt dix neuf. Et dans le calcul de tous les événemens du plus long règne Il est impossible que vous trouviés Jamais, Sire, une autre occasion de faire un gain moins couteux aussi réèl et plus immense.

Passons aux détails de l'entreprise.

Le Tableau constant de l'affaire pour la masse du Congrès est la certitude ou l'on doit les tenir que, Votre Majesté ne veut entrer pour rien dans cette affaire, mais qu'une compagnie va livrer généreusement une somme quelconque a la prudence d'un agent fidèle pour en aider Successivement les américains par les voies les plus promptes et les plus Sures moyenant des retours en tabac.

Le Secret Sera l'ame de tout le reste.

Mais les deux principes vraiment fécondans de cette opération Sont, d'une part, la facilité qu'a Votre Majesté de se procurer autant de poudre a canon qu'elle en desire, a un prix très modique, et de l'autre l'impossibilité ou Sont les fermiers généraux de Se procurer du tabac aujourdui pour aucun prix que ce Soit.

Ces deux points accordés ; Voici comment J'entens proceder en cette affaire.

Votre Majesté commencera par remettre un Million a la disposition de Votre agent, qui Se nommera Roderique Hortalez et compagnie c'est le nom de commerce et la Signature, Sous lesquels Je Suis convenu que Se ferait toute l'opération.

Moitie de ce Million echangée en Moyadores ou piéces de Portugal, Seule monoie qui ait cours en Amérique, y Sera promptement envoyée. Car il faut

tout a l'heure aux américains un peu d'Or, pour donner du mouvement a leur papier monnoie qui, Sans ce moyen de le faire circuler, est prèt a dévinir inutile et Stagnant dans leurs mains. C'est un peu de levain qu'il faut verser Sur de la pâte engourdie, pour la faire elever et fermenter utilement. Sur cette partie du million, Il ne peut y avoir d'autre bénéfice que les retours de cette Somme en tabac de Virginie, que le Congrès doit fournir a la Maison Hortalez; la quelle aura fait d'avance avec la ferme générale de france un Marché pour qu'on lui prenne tout ce tabac a bon prix. Mais c'est peu de chose.

Roderique Hortalez compte employer la Seconde moitié du Million qui lui est confié, a Se procurer de la poudre a canon, et la faire passer aussi, promptement aux américains.

Mais, au lieu d'acheter cette poudre en Hollande ou mesme en france au prix Marchand de 20 ou 30 Sols tournois la livre ; Valeur a la quelle les Hollandais l'ont toujours portée et mesme au dela, en approvisionant les américains ; tout l'artifice de notre opération consiste, en ce que Roderique Hortalez espère. Sous le bon plaisir de Votre Majesté, acheter très Secrettement des régisseurs de vos poudres et Salpètres, toute la poudre a canon dont il aura besoin Sur le pié de 4 a 6 S.[ols] la livre.

Si la Maison Hortalez, engagée envers les américains de leur envoyer de la poudre Sur le pié de 20 S.[ols] la livre, la payait ce mesme prix aux Vendeurs ordinaires, Elle ne pourait envoyer a Philadelphie, pour les 500 Mille Livres qui lui restent, que 500 milliers de poudre ; et cette seconde opération aussi Seche que la 1ere des pièces d'or, ne produisant d'autre bénéfice que celui des retours en tabac, réduirait la Spéculation a la Seule rentrée certaine de la 1ere mise.

Et, comme nous l'avons dit, c'est assés peu de chose en Soi.

Mais Si Roderique Hortalez obtient en Secrèt des régisseurs de Votre Majesté de la poudre a 5 Sols

tournois la livre, avec les 500 mille livres qui lui restent, Il acquérera deux mille milliers ou 20 mille quintaux de poudre ; lesquels envoyés en Amérique au prix de 20 S.[ols] la livre constitueront le congrès débiteur d'Hortalez d'une Somme de 2 millions tournois, dont les retours en Europe, devant Se faire, ainsi que celui des piastres, en tabac vendu d'avance a la ferme générale, mettront bientot la Maison Hortalez en Etat de compter envers le vrai propriétaire des fonds qui est votre majesté, d'une Somme de 2 millions 500 mille Livres. Plus Elle comptera du benefice obtenu Sur la vente du tabac, et ce bénéfice en nombre rond peut monter a 500 m[ille] L.[ivres].

La rentrée de toutes ces Sommes rendra donc Hortalez agent et possesseur d'une Somme effective de 3 millions, avec laquelle on peut recommencer l'opération, et Jeter dabord 15 cent mille Livres en or a travers le papier américain, et 6 mille milliers ou 60 mille quintaux de poudre dans Ses canons et mortiers. Mais ces 60 mille quintaux qui n'auront couté que 15 mille livres a Roderique Hortalez n'en rendront pas moins les américains, Ses redevables d'une Somme de 9 millions ; tant pour la poudre a canon, que pour l'or de Portugal qu'ils en auront recus.

En voila bien assés pour montrer a Votre Majesté comment le produit de cette affaire traitée dans les grands principes du commerce, doit S'accroitre en circulant, non dans la progression double de 1, 2, 4, 8, &c mais dans la progression triple 1, 3, 9, 27, &c. car Si le 1.^{ere} milion en donne trois ; ces 3 millions, remis dans l'affaire au mesme pié, doivent en donner 9, et ces 9, 27. &c. comme Je crois l'avoir bien prouvé.

Votre Majesté ne S'effrayera pas de l'air compliqué que prend cette opération sous ma plume, Lorsqu'elle Saura que nulle Spéculation de commerce ne marche et ne reussit par aucun moyen plus Simple et plus naturel que celui cy.

J'ai traité Sous vos yeux, Sire, l'affaire en grand négotiant qui voudrait faire une Spéculation avanta-

geuse et Je vous ai dévelopé le Secrèt unique avec lequel le commerce en grand, tirant tout Son bénéfice de dehors par l'Echange avantageuse des denrées, augmente la prosperité de tous les Etats qui ont le bon sens de le proteger. bien Supérieur a l'art du financier, qui, n'etablissant jamais Son benefice que Sur des Speculations intérieures et contre les Sujèts de l'Etat ne peut augmenter le produit du fisc qu'aux dépens de l'existence universelle des sujèts. Au lieu de l'embonpoint réèl donné par le commerce; cet art destructeur ne produit dans l'Etat qu'une monstrueuse Conffissure, qu'une enflure a la teste, occasionnée par la pénurie, le malaise et l'etranglement général de toutes les autres parties de ce corps Souffrant.

Mais, pour rentrer dans mon Sujèt, mon but Etant moins de faire faire a Votre Majesté une opération lucrative de commerce, que donner a la 1.ere mise de votre Secours l'apparence et l'effet d'une Somme beaucoup plus forte;

Il résultera toujours, pour les américains, de ma 1ere operation détaillée cy dessus, qu'ils auront recu de Votre Majesté, par les mains d'Hortalez, un Secours réèl de 2 millions, 500 mille livres; dont 500 m[ille] L[ivres] en or et 2 millions en poudre a canon; quoique Votre Majesté n'ait reellement deboursé qu'un million de Livres. Et que Si les retours en tabac, et la vente de cette denrée, ont lieu comme Je l'indiqua; Votre Majeste Se trouvera bientot en etat de faire repasser par les mains d'Hortalez, les 3 millions provenus du prix et bénéfice de ces retours, pour recommencer l'opération plus en grand. Mais alors, Suivant la progression géométrique de ce produit demontrée cy dessus, les américains auront recu réèllement en deux fois, de Votre Majesté, une Somme de 9 millions; Savoir 2 deux millions en or, et 7 millions en poudre quoi que Votre Majesté, qui n'aura fait rentrer, cette Seconde fois dans le commerce que le produit de Sa 1ere mise, n'ait réèllement déboursé qu'un million effectif au total.

Ceci bien expliqué; maintenant il est egal a la maison

Hortalez d'employer a Son commerce un vaisseau francais ou quelque navire Hollandais. chacun de ces choix a Sur l'autre des avantages balancés par des inconvénients que je vais exposer brièvement.

Le choix d'un navire Hollandais a cet avantage que la main que fournit les Secours en Sera plus Surement deguisé. Mais Il expose les munitions ou les retours a etre interceptées dans le long trajèt d'Europe en Amérique par les croisières anglaises. Ou peut nous enlever ainsi le fruit de toute l'opération en un instant.

Le choix d'un vaisseau français assure absolument le transport des munitions Jusqu'au Cap francais, choisi par Hortalez en Amérique pour etre le 1.ere entrepot de son commerce.

Cette voie donne Seulement ouverture au Soupcon, que Le Gouvernement français pourait bien favoriser cette entreprise : mais en considérant qu'il ne peut jamais exister de preuve de ce fait, nous passerons d'autant plus facilement Sur cette crainte que Soit que la france aide ou non les américains, on est plus que persuadé en angleterre qu'il y a long tems que nous prodi guons nos Secours aux braves rebelles de l'amérique.

Nous en tenant donc au choix d'un vaisseau françaīs, chargé pour le compte de Roderique Hortalez et compagnie ; Le Congrés, ou plutot Mr Adams, Secretaire général du Congrés Sera prévenu tout Seul, par l'agent des américains en angleterre, qu'un vaisseau lui porte au cap français de l'or et des munitions, dont le retour doit Se faire en tabac de virginie afin qu il envoye au cap Sur un vaisseau chargé de tabac, un agent, porteur de Ses pouvoīrs a l'Effet de recevoir l'or et les munitions, en donner décharge et remettre au capitaine commis d'Hortalez, Ses retours entiers en tabac, ou du moins, reconnaissance qu'il doit a Roderique Hortalez le restant des Sommes dont il n'aura pu fournir les retours.

Alors le capitaine français lui remettra toute Sacargaison et rapportera Sur son bord en Europe tout le chargement du capitaine américain. En S'arrangeant de telle sorte que Si dans le court trajèt de St. Do-

mingues au continent le navire américain est pris, on n'y trouve aucun autre vestige que celui d'un commerce pur et Simple entre Roderique Hortalez et un armateur américain. La cargaison de Tabac Surement rendue en france par le vaisseau français peut réparer une partie des pertes et l'on recommencera l'opération avec l'espoir d'etre plus heureux, sansque personne ait eté compromis. Avant de finir ce travail Je veux y hazarder une idée qu'il m'a Suggérée lui mesme. C'est qu'il Serait assés doux de Secourir les américains avec l'argent des anglais. ce qui est très facile.

Il Suffirait pour cela que Votre majesté Se modellant Sur les anglais qui font payer d'entrée a Douvres les trois quarts du prix de toutes les voitures francaises qui passent en angleterre, ordonnat qu'a l'avenir toutes les voitures et chevaux Etrangers qui arriveront dans Ses ports de l'océan Seront Soumis au paiement d'un droit égal a celui qui les notres payent en angle terre.

A l'Enorme quantité de voitures chevaux etc que la curiosité, la folie ou le commerce nous amenent de ce païs la, Je répons a Votre Majesté que Si Elle me permettait de faire regir cette petite partie pour Son compte Elle n'aurait bientot plus besoin de chercher comment elle ferait pour fournir des fonds Secrèts a la Maison Hortalez, Votre Majesté aurait bientot de quoi fleurir en grand le commerce de cette maison qui appartient en propre a Votre Majesté. Et ce coup de finance bien Supérieure a toutes les autres Speculations de cette Sience meurtriere en ce que le produit S'en preleverait non Sur les Sujèts de Votre Majesté, mais Sur les anglais Seuls, rentrerait dans le principe adopté par le commerçant économique et politique Hortalez de Beaumarchais que les marchandises et denrées de l'Etranger ne doivent etre admises en aucun païs Si Elles ne luï apportent pas un bénifice equivalent a leur consommation.

L'adoption de cette idée, en procurant a votre Majesté le doux plaisir de n'employer pour aider les americains aucun autre argent que celui que ce droit arracherait a

l'angleterre mesme, a quelque chose de piquant et qui me parait propre a Semer de de quelques fleurs l'arridité de l'examen de Sortie, rentrée, et bénéfice des fonds du commerce d'Hortalez, dont Votre majesté va devinir le Seul proprietaire.

Après tout ce que J'aï dit Il n'est pas besoin que Je prouve que Votre Majesté poura restraindre ou etendre Ses secours a volonté. Le Seul commerce d'Hortalez ralenti ou pressé vivement Selon l'exigeance des cas produira cet effèt Sans que personne S'aperçoive du vrai motif de ces variantes.

Tel est le plan que J'offre a votre majesté pour cette affaire, Après y avoir murement réfléchi après en avoir Soumis le projèt au calcul. la décision a vos ordres, l'Exécution a ma prudence et le Succès a la fortune. Il m'a paru la plus avantageux de tous.

Si Votre Majesté ne l'adopte pas, J'auraï du moins l'avantage d'avoir montré pour Son service encore une fois, Sinon des lumieres fort etendues, au moins un zele actif et pur autant qu'inaltérable.

CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS —

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

TRANSLATION.

To the King Only.

SIRE,—When considerations of State impel you to extend a helping hand to the Americans, Policy requires that your Majesty proceed with such caution, that aid secretly conveyed to America may not become in Europe a brand to kindle strife between France and England. Above all, it is the part of prudence to be certain that the money cannot possibly pass into other hands than those of your own choice. Moreover, since the present state of the finances does not at once permit of as great an expenditure as events seem to require, it is my duty, Sire, to submit to your judge-

ment the following plan, having for its principal object, under the semblance of a purely commercial affair, to remove all suspicion that your Majesty or your Council are at all interested in the matter.

Another advantage of this plan, is that your Majesty's Council can easily, and at a glance, follow the money throughout all its changes in the course of trade, from the generous hand of the giver to the grateful hand of the receiver, without a fear of its diversion or loss through dishonest agents.

But the principal advantage of this plan is, that it increases the prestige and maintains the continuity of your aid to such a degree, that by multiplying this money by its increase, a single million enhanced by being again put in circulation produces the same results in favor of the Americans as if your Majesty had actually paid out nine millions for their benefit. This requires further explanation.

Finally, this plan, in execution, unites with many other advantages, the power of retarding or accelerating the course of these supplies as your prudence may dictate, and according as the situation of the Americans becomes more or less pressing, with the result that these aids, wisely administered, will serve not so much to terminate the war between America and England, as to sustain and keep it alive to the detriment of the English, our natural and pronounced enemies.

Besides, should your Majesty in pursuance of this important object be obliged to increase the amount, it is certain that every million spent by you to enable the Americans to defend their soil, will cost the English 100 millions, if they persevere in going 2,000 leagues from home to attack them. In other words, to sacrifice a million in order to occasion a loss of 100 millions to England, is precisely the same thing as advancing a million to gain ninety-nine millions; and, in a calculation of chances throughout the longest reign, it is impossible, Sire, that you could ever find another opportunity to make a less expensive, more practical or greater gain.

Let us consider the details of the scheme. The unvarying impression of this affair to the majority of the Congress, should be the delusion, that your Majesty has nothing to do with it, but that a Company is about to entrust a certain sum to the prudence of a trusted agent, to furnish continuous aid to the Americans by the promptest and surest methods, in exchange for returns in the shape of tobacco. Secrecy is the essence of all the rest.

But the two vital points of the operation are, first, the ease with which your Majesty may obtain as much powder as you wish, at a moderate price, and, second, the impossibility of the Fermiers-Généraux now obtaining tobacco at any price whatever. Admitting this, I would proceed as follows:

Your Majesty will begin by placing one million at the disposal of your agent, who will style himself Roderique Hortalez and Company, this being the signature and title of the firm under which I have agreed to conduct the entire business. One half of this sum, changed into moidores or Portuguese pieces, the only foreign money that passes in America, will be immediately forwarded thither; for it is necessary that the Americans should have a little gold at once, to put in circulation their own paper money which, lacking this impetus, is likely to become valueless and stagnant. It is the leaven that must be poured on the heavy dough to make it rise and properly ferment.

From this half million, no other benefit can be derived than its return in the form of Virginia tobacco which the Congress ought to furnish to the Firm of Hortalez, the Ferme-Général having previously agreed with the latter to purchase the tobacco at a good price. Yet, this is of small consequence.

Roderique Hortalez intends to use the remaining half million in procuring powder, and in conveying it without delay to the Americans. Instead, however of buying this powder in Holland, or even in France at the current prices of 20 or 30 sols tournois a pound, the price at

which the Dutch hold it, or even higher, when supplying the Americans, the real device of the operation consisting, as Roderique Hortalez hopes, in secretly procuring, with the sanction of your Majesty, all necessary powder and saltpetre of your Registrars, on a basis of from four to six sols a pound.

If the firm of Hortalez contracts with the Americans to forward to them powder on the basis of 20 sols a pound, and pays the equivalent to the merchants, it cannot send to Philadelphia for the remaining 500,000 livres more than 500 milliers of powder, and this second operation will be as barren as the first, in regard to the gold coin, nor will it yield further profit, beyond a payment in tobacco, confining the speculation to the same return as in the first instance. As has been stated, this is of small consequence in itself.

But if Hortalez secretly obtains powder from your Majesty's Registrars, at 5 sols a pound, with the 500,000 livres remaining he can obtain 2,000 milliers, or 20 thousand quintals, of powder, which forwarded to America, at 20 sols a pound, will leave Congress in debt to Hortalez to the amount of 2 millions tournois. The profits, returning in the shape of tobacco, sold in advance to the Ferme-Général, will enable the firm of Hortalez to settle with the real owner, namely, your Majesty, for the sum of two million five hundred thousand livres; and in addition there remains to be calculated the profit on sales of tobacco, that may rise in round numbers, to 500,000 livres.

The return of these various sums will place at the disposition of Hortalez, an actual capital of 3 millions, with which to renew the operation, to rehabilitate the American paper money with 1,500,000 livres in gold, and to supply American mortars and cannon with 60,000 quintals of powder, while this 60,000 quintals, although costing Roderique Hortalez but 15 thousand livres, will nevertheless make the Americans his debtors to the amount of 9 millions in return for both the powder and the Portuguese gold received by them.

Enough has been stated to demonstrate to your Majesty, how the returns in this affair treated in accordance with a large conception of the principles of commerce ought to grow by circulation, not merely by using two for a multiple, as 1, 2, 4, 8, etc., but by using three, as 1, 3, 9, 27, etc.; for if the first million produced three, these three employed in further operations on the same theory, ought to produce 9, and these 9, 27 etc., as I think that I have sufficiently demonstrated.

Your Majesty will not mistrust the plan as I have stated it, because of its complications, when you realize that no commercial speculation either advances or succeeds by a method more simple or natural than this.

I have exhibited the matter to you, Sire, in the character of a large merchant who wishes to speculate to advantage, and I have explained the real secret by which a wholesale business, drawing its profits from abroad, by a profitable exchange of its returns, increases the prosperity of all nations sufficiently intelligent to foster it. This art is far superior to that of the financier, who, invariably drawing his profits from speculations at home, directed against the subjects of the home government, cannot increase the revenue except at the expense of the manner of life of the governed. Thus, instead of the healthy plethora occasioned by commerce, that destructive science only produces a monstrous swelling like a tumor on the head, the result of penury, discomfort, and the general clogging of all other parts of a sickly body.

But to return to the subject, my primary object is less to embark your Majesty on a lucrative speculation than to secure to your first gifts the air and effect of a much larger sum.

The outcome of my first operation, above described, will be the receipt by the Americans from your Majesty, through Hortalez, of actual aid to the amount of 2 millions 500 thousand livres ; that is, 500 thousand livres in gold and 2 millions in powder, while your Majesty will have parted with only one million livres.

Besides, if the assets in tobacco and the sale of this return proceed as I have indicated, your Majesty can soon recommence, by the hand of Hortalez, the redistribution of the three millions arising from the sale and profit of these returns, and begin the operation anew on a larger scale. Thus, following the geometrical progression indicated above, the Americans will have received in two installments from your Majesty a sum of 9 millions—that is to say, 2 millions in gold, and 7 millions in powder—although your Majesty, having merely invested a second time the profits of the former operation, will have actually paid out in all but a single million.

Admitting the foregoing as sufficiently explained, it is the same to the firm of Hortalez whether it employs for the trade a French or a Dutch ship. In either case there are advantages and disadvantages that I will briefly enumerate.

The choice of a Dutch ship conceals more effectually the source of the supplies, but it also renders the munitions and the returns liable to be intercepted by English cruisers during the long course of transportation, and thus we may be deprived in an instant of all the profits of the operation; while by employing a French ship the transportation is absolutely safe as far as the French Cape, selected by Hortalez as the first depot for his trade with America.

This way, however, gives ground for a suspicion that the French government favors the enterprise, but considering that proof of the fact cannot be produced, we can disregard this, for whether France assists the Americans or does not assist them, the English, for some time past, have been certain that we are lavish of our aid to the brave rebels in America.

Supposing, then, that a French ship be employed and freighted on account of Roderique Hortalez and Company, Congress, or rather Mr. Adams, the General Secretary of Congress, will alone be informed by the American agent in England that a ship will carry to

the French Cape gold and munitions to be paid for in Virginian tobacco, in order that he may send to the Cape his representative with the tobacco and with authority to receive the gold and munitions; to give his receipt, and to transfer to the captain and supercargo of Hortalez all the tobacco, or else a note to Roderique Hortalez for the proportion of the debt still outstanding.

Whereupon, the French captain will deliver to him all his cargo, and carry to Europe the cargo of the American—contriving that if the American ship is captured during the short run between San Domingo and the mainland, no trace can be discovered of anything beyond a simple commercial transaction between Hortalez and an American war-vessel.

The cargo of tobacco landed in France may meet a part of the loss, and the operation can be repeated in the hope of a better result and without compromising any one.

Before terminating this paper I wish to hazard an idea suggested during its composition, namely, that it would be a pretty thing to aid the Americans with English money. Neither is this difficult.

It would suffice should your Majesty, adopting an English usage that exacts a tax of 75% *ad valorem* on all French vehicles entering England at Dover, decree that in future all foreign vehicles and horses landed at our ports shall pay a tax equal to that levied on ours when entering England.

Considering the enormous number of carriages, horses, etc., that fashion, foolishness, or trade draws hither from that country, I promise your Majesty that were I allowed to arrange this little matter to your advantage you would have no need to contrive how to furnish the firm of Hortalez with funds, but would soon possess sufficient to enable the concern, which is really your own, to flourish on the grandest scale.

This stroke of finance is far superior to all the

other speculations in that deadly science, since the cost is borne by the English and not by your Majesty's subjects; and it accords with the principle adopted by the merchant, economist, and politician, Hortalez de Beaumarchais, that foreign merchandise and products ought not to be admitted into any country, unless they create a revenue equivalent to their cost.

By putting in practice this conceit, your Majesty would have the pleasure of using for the relief of the Americans the very money squeezed out of the English, and this seems to me to be quite an agreeable consideration, and, so to speak, like planting a few flowers amid the dry waste of explanations of the output, return, and profits of the commercial capital of the firm of Hortalez, of which your Majesty is about to become the sole proprietor.

After what has been said, it is not necessary that I prove to your Majesty your power to retard or accelerate these aids at pleasure. The trade contracted or expanded by Hortalez, according to the exigencies of the case, will have this effect without raising a suspicion of the true reason of these fluctuations.

Such is the scheme that I submit to your Majesty for this affair, after deliberate reflection upon it, and a calculation of the chances. The decision depends on your commands: the execution on my prudence and the success is left to Fortune. Under these conditions it appears to me the most profitable of any.

In case your Majesty does not adopt it, I shall, at least, be credited with having again shown in your service a zeal as extended as my experience and as active and pure as it is unalterable.

CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

From Secret Committee of Congress.

Philadelphia, March 1, 1776.

Silas Deane, Esq^r.,

Sir,—We deliver you herewith one part of a Contract made with the Secret Committee of Congress for exporting Produce of these Colonies to Europe [and] of importing from France certain articles suitable for the Indians. The first part of this business we have undertaken and shall accomplish as soon as possible by shipping cargoes to the markets they are best adapted for, and ordering the consignees to remit the proceeds to the following houses, viz. Mess^rs Sam^l and J. H. Delap in Bordeaux, Mess^rs Geo. Clifford and Teysett in Amsterdam [and] M^r John Hodgshon in Amsterdam.

We think it prudent thus to divide the remittances that none of the Houses may know the extent of your commission, but each of them will have orders to account with you for the amount of what comes into their hands for this purpose and to hold the same subject to your drafts and orders. On your part you are to immediately repair to France for the execution of that part of this contract which by our private agreement you have undertaken.

We deliver you herewith sundry letters of introduction to reputable Houses in France which we hope will place you in the respectable light you deserve to appear and put you on a footing to purchase the goods wanted, which has been inspected and approved by the Secret Committee. We hope you will readily and expeditiously procure every article wanted, and immediately shipped in such manner as you judge most likely to answer the purpose of getting them safe landed in some of the United Colonies of North America. You will transmit to the Secret Committee, Bills of lading and Invoices for every parcell of goods you remit, and as the Brig^t Rachell has been chartered for the express purpose of carrying you to France and for bringing back a part of these goods, we deliver you

herewith a letter from the Secret Committee to Cap[t] Isherwood directing him to obey your orders. Therefore you can deliver it whenever you see proper to disclose yourself to him. The vessell is on monthly pay, therefore the sooner you dispatch her back the better; and you will give this Captain and all others suitable directions for approaching this coast on their return, with circumspection.

We are Sir

Your hb[le] Servants

JOHN ALSOP for self
PHILIP LIVINGSTON and
FRANCIS LEWIS.
ROBERT MORRIS.

P.S. You'l please to supply Cap[t] Isherwood with money to pay the Brig[t] Rachell's charges, and transmit his receipt for the Amount.

ENCLOSURE.

Be it remembered that it is agreed by and between John Alsop, Francis Lewis and Philip Livingston of the City of New York—Merchants and Silas Deane of the Colony of Connecticut, merchant—and Robert Morris of the City of Philadelphia, merchant, of the one part, and Samuel Ward, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas M[c]Kean, Joseph Hewes, Josiah Bartlett and Robert Alexander, Esq[rs], members of the Committee of Secresy appointed by the Hon. Continental Congress of the thirteen United States of North America, of the other part as follows—to wit.

That the sum of 200,000 Dollars, continental money now advanced and paid by the said Committee of Secresy to the said John Alsop, Francis Lewis, Philip Livingston, Silas Deane and Robert Morris, shall be laid out by them in the produce of these Colonies and shipped on board proper vessels, to be by them chartered for that purpose, to some proper port or ports

in Europe (Great Britain and the British Isles excepted) and there disposed of on the best terms. And the neat proceeds of such cargoes laid out in such goods, wares or merchandise as the said Committee of Secrecy shall direct and shipped for the said United Colonies to be landed in some convenient harbor or place within the same and notice thereof given as soon as conveniently may be to the said Committee of Secrecy.

For which the said John Alsop, Francis Lewis, Philip Livingston, Silas Deane and Robert Morris shall be allowed five per. ct. for purchasing the cargo here; and also to such of said contractors as shall go personally to Europe to execute and superintend this business—exclusive of the charges of selling the produce and manufactures of these Colonies, to be exported as aforesaid, and for shipping the remittances, besides the duties, a clear commission of five per. ct. on the original cost of such remittances in Europe, the said United Colonies running the whole risk of the said adventure, being for their benefit and advantage, and also insuring such vessels against all British seizures and captures.

Witness our hand this 19th day of February in the year of our Lord, one thousand, seven hundred and seventy six, at Philadelphia—

Witness, John Legg.

John Alsop for self and
Philip Livingston
Francis Lewis
Robert Morris
Silas Deane

Samuel Ward
Benjamin Franklin
Thomas McKean
Joseph Hewes
Josiah Bartlett
Robert Alexander.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

From Secret Committee of Congress.

We the underwritten, being the Committee of Congress for secret Correspondence, do hereby certify whom it may concern, that the Bearer, the Honorable Silas Deane Esquire, one of the Delegates from the Colony of Connecticut, is appointed by us to go into France, there to transact such Business, commercial and political, as we have committed to his Care, in Behalf and by Authority of the Congress of the thirteen united Colonies. In Testimony whereof we have hereunto set our Hands and Seals at Philadelphia, the second Day of March 1776.

B. Franklin (seal)
Benj. Harrison (seal)
John Dickinson (seal)
John Jay (seal)
Rob[t] Morris (seal)

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

[First sheet missing.]—I inclose the original of a certain Testimonial, or certificate, which I wish, after its being shewn to my friends, may be kept for the satisfaction of any who may be doubtful as to my character in Congress. I have sent a copy to Col. Dyer, and one to Gov. Trumbull. It was signed by all the members in town except Bartlett of New Hampshire, the Adamses and Ward. I have omitted sending to Carolina, as the danger increases that way, and I could not spend time on the affair.

I sent last summer two Journals of the Congress, neatly bound, lettered and gilt, to Gov[r] Trumbull and The Speaker for use of the two Houses, with the names of the two Houses, viz. Governor and Council, and House of Representatives, in gold letters on the outside. Pray inquire if they were ever received by the Assembly. I can prove their coming into the

Speaker's hand, but from my hearing nothing from them, I suspect foul play in that instance.

I have been delayed beyond my expectation, but as the vessel now waits only for me (a vessel in ballast, employed solely for the purpose), I shall doubtless sail this week.

Sunday, March 3d. You have before this received mine by Mr. Pomroy, with the Carriage and Horses, &c. Mr. Lynch will survive the shock for some time, to be a miserable spectacle, I doubt, as I understand his senses are much affected. I am at a loss to judge how Mr. Babcock's affair will turn; he is very assiduous, and I think agreeable to the lady, but he is volatile on the occasion.

Among the goods I sent, was a piece of muslin, directed to you; it cost 16 s. p^{r} y^{d}; is very fine; the same quality sold here for 24 s. in retail. I desire you would, after taking what you want, present the remainder to Mrs. Webb, Hetty, Sister Hannah, and Sally, in equal proportion; and out of the other goods, present your sisters, Nanny and Molly, and Mrs. Hannah Webb and Nabby, with an equivalent in something else. I mention this disposition as I am told the muslin will make five suits, as they are called; but of this you are the best judge, and to you I submit it, as you know my mind by the hint.

It will be to no purpose to write to me, until you hear from me, and then not a word of politics. My business will give me frequent opportunities of sending directly, and with certainty, by the way of this city, thro' the hands of my good friends, Dr. Franklin and Mr. Morris. Capt. Wadsworth will carry my letters and papers, to whom refer you for smaller matters. He is a valuable person, and I wish the public may become sensible of his worth.

You will not imagine I am unfeeling on this occasion,—but to what purpose would it be to let my tender passions govern, except to distress you? I shall take every precaution, and if I fall into the

Enemie's hands, doubt not of good usage, as their sending Commissioners will be a security to me; but I am prepared even for the worst, not wishing to survive my Country's fate, and confident, while that is safe, I shall be happy in almost any situation.

I have, in one of the most solemn acts of my life, committed my son and what I have to your care and the care of my Brother, confident you will be to him a real mother, which you ever have been, and for my sake, as well as from the truly maternal affection you have ever borne for him, guard his youth from anything dangerous, or dishonorable. I can but feel for the pain I must give you by this adventure, but on all occasions you will have this satisfaction, that let what will happen, you have in every situation discharged your duty as one of the best of partners and wives, while on my part, by a peculiar fatality attending me from my first entrance into public life, I have ever been involved in one scheme and adventure after another, so as to keep my mind in constant agitation and my attention fixed on other objects than my own immediate interests.

The present object is great. I am about to enter on the great stage of Europe, and the consideration of the importance of quitting myself well, weighs me down, without the addition of more tender scenes; but I am

> "Safe in the hand of that protecting Power,
> Who rul'd my natal, and must fix my mortal hour."

It matters but little, my Dear, what part we act, or where, if we act it well. I wish as much as any man for the enjoyments of domestic ease, peace, and society, but am forbid expecting them soon; indeed, must be criminal in my own eyes, did I balance them one moment in opposition to the Public Good and the Calls of my Country.

I do not recollect any thing to add; it is a late hour, and to-morrow will be a busy day with me, as I

hope to sail on Tuesday. May God Almighty protect you safe thro' the vicissitudes of Time.

Yours, thro' Life and all its Scenes,

S. DEANE.

P. S. Confident this letter will go safe, I venture to say that a Concern, different from my contract, is to support me. I have agreed that all expenses of every kind shall be paid, and referred my salary to be determined hereafter, in consequence of which it is agreed that I have Five hundred pounds Sterling to carry with me for that purpose, and the same sum is to be remitted to me at the end of six months.

Should any accident happen to me, you will find this entered on the Committee of Secret Correspondence's Books. The members are: Dr. Franklin, Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Jay, Mr. Morris, Col. Harrison, and Mr. Johnson. But you must not communicate this to any one, except to my Brother. This will explain my saying that I have a commission of two thousand pounds free of charge, as my charge will be amply provided for by the other way. And now, my Dear, are not the ways of Providence dark and inscrutable to us, short-sighted mortals? Surely they are. My enemies tho't to triumph over me and bring me down, yet all they did has been turned to the opening a door for the greatest and most extensive usefulness, if I succeed; but if I fail,—why then the Cause I am engaged in, and the important part I have undertaken, will justify my adventuring.

Several papers I have mentioned were inclosed in y^e^ packet to my Brother, as will be found on y^e^ opening. I shall leave with Mr. Morris, Eighteen hundred dollars, to be called for by my Brother, as he will find a reference in my Cash Account No. 2, sent him by Capt. Wadsworth. The sum I left Mr. Marshall, I sent a receipt for. I have not been able as yet to make any insurance, and if you think prudent to do it, you must advise with Mr. Jno. Alsop

and Mr. Morris, upon it, as it may be dangerous to have the matter made public.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., p. 360.

FROM THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, March 3d, 1776.

On your arrival in France, you will for some time be engaged in the business of providing goods for the Indian trade. This will give good countenance to your appearing in the character of a merchant, which we wish you continually to retain among the French, in general, it being probable that the court of France may not like it should be known publicly, that any agent from the Colonies is in that country. When you come to Paris, by delivering Dr. Franklin's letters to Monsieur Le Roy at the Louvre, and M. Dubourg, you will be introduced to a set of acquaintance, all friends to the Americans. By conversing with them, you will have a good opportunity of acquiring Parisian French, and you will find in M. Dubourg, a man prudent, faithful, secret, intelligent in affairs, and capable of giving you very sage advice.

It is scarce necessary to pretend any other business at Paris, than the gratifying of that curiosity, which draws numbers thither yearly, merely to see so famous a city. With the assistance of Monsieur Dubourg, who understands English, you will be able to make immediate application to Monsieur de Vergennes, Minister des Affaires Etrangères, either personally or by letter, if M. Dubourg adopts that method, acquainting him that you are in France upon business of the American Congress, in the character of a merchant, having something to communicate to him, that may be mutually beneficial to France and the North American Colonies; that you request an audience of him, and that he would be pleased to appoint the time and place. At this audience if agreed to, it may be

well to show him first your letter of credence, and then acquaint him that the Congress, finding that in the common course of commerce, it was not practicable to furnish the continent of America with the quantity of arms and ammunition necessary for its defence (the Ministry of Great Britain having been extremely industrious to prevent it), you had been despatched by their authority to apply to some European power for a supply. That France had been pitched on for the first application, from an opinion, that if we should, as there is a great appearance we shall, come to a total separation from Great Britain, France would be looked upon as the power, whose friendship it would be fittest for us to obtain and cultivate. That the commercial advantages Britain had enjoyed with the Colonies, had contributed greatly to her late wealth, and importance. That it is likely great part of our commerce will naturally fall to the share of France, especially if she favors us in this application, as that will be a means of gaining and securing the friendship of the Colonies; and that as our trade was rapidly increasing with our increase of people, and in a greater proportion, her part of it will be extremely valuable. That the supply we at present want, is clothing and arms for twenty five thousand men with a suitable quantity of ammunition, and one hundred field pieces. That we mean to pay for the same by remittances to France or through Spain, Portugal, or the French Islands, as soon as our navigation can be protected by ourselves or friends; and that we besides want great quantities of linens and woolens, with other articles for the Indian trade, which you are now actually purchasing, and for which you ask no credit, and that the whole, if France should grant the other supplies, would make a cargo which it might be well to secure by a convoy of two or three ships of war.

If you should find M. de Vergennes reserved, and not inclined to enter into free conversation with you,

it may be well to shorten your visit, request him to consider what you have proposed, acquaint him with your place of lodging, that you may yet stay sometime at Paris, and that knowing how precious his time is, you do not presume to ask another audience, but that if he should have any commands for you, you will upon the least notice immediately wait upon him. If, at a future conference he should be more free, and you find a disposition to favor the Colonies, it may be proper to acquaint him, that they must necessarily be anxious to know the disposition of France, on certain points, which, with his permission, you would mention, such as whether if the Colonies should be forced to form themselves into an independent state, France would probably acknowledge them as such, receive their ambassadors, enter into any treaty or alliance with them, for commerce or defence, or both? If so, on what principal conditions? Intimating that you shall speedily have an opportunity of sending to America, if you do not immediately return, and that he may be assured of your fidelity and secrecy in transmitting carefully any thing he would wish conveyed to the Congress on that subject. In subsequent conversations, you may, as you find it convenient, enlarge on these topics, that have been the subjects of our conferences, with you, to which you may occasionally add the well known substantial answers, we usually give to the several calumnies thrown out against us. If these supplies on the credit of the Congress should be refused, you are then to endeavor the obtaining a permission of purchasing those articles, or as much of them as you can find credit for. You will keep a daily journal of all your material transactions, and particularly of what passes in your conversation with great personages; and you will by every safe opportunity, furnish us with such information as may be important. When your business in France admits of it, it may be well to go into Holland, and visit our agent there, M. Dumas, conferring with

him on subjects that may promote our interest, and on the means of communication.

You will endeavor to procure a meeting with Mr. Bancroft by writing a letter to him, under cover to Mr. Griffiths at Turnham Green, near London, and desiring him to come over to you, in France or Holland, on the score of old acquaintance. From him you may obtain a good deal of information of what is now going forward in England, and settle a mode of continuing a correspondence. It may be well to remit him a small bill to defray his expenses in coming to you, and avoid all political matters in your letter to him. You will also endeavor to correspond with Mr. Arthur Lee, agent of the Colonies in London. You will endeavor to obtain acquaintance with M. Garnier, late Chargé des Affaires de France en Angleterre, if now in France, or if returned to England, a correspondence with him, as a person extremely intelligent and friendly to our cause. From him, you may learn many particulars occasionally, that will be useful to us.

B. Franklin,
Benj. Harrison,
John Dickinson,
Robert Morris,
John Jay.

Diplomatic Correspondence Amer. Rev., I., 5.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

Delaware Bay, March 16th, 1776.

My Dear,—I have nothing in the way of business to add to what I wrote so particularly from Philadelphia, but sensible it will give you pleasure to hear of my wellfare, I will give you in a few words my journal to this time.

I left Philadelphia in a Pilot Boat on the 8th instant, and arrived at Chester, where the Brig[a] lay; on the

10th left that place and fell down to New Castle, where the contrary winds detained us until the 11th at night, when we fell down as far as Reedy Island, so called, which is about fifty or sixty miles from Philadelphia; from this we sailed on the 12th, to appearance with a fine wind, which headed us by 12 o'clock, and obliged us to return, and detained us until this morning, the 16th, when the wind springing up at the West, we made sail, and are running down the Bay.

I have been very well and hearty since I have been on board, and am in good spirits, trusting in His protection who commands both winds and waves, and resigning myself to His disposal. I wish my love, respect, and regards may be given to all my relatives and acquaintance; have wrote my Brothers by this conveyance, and assure yourself I shall take all the care in my power both of my health and person, and I pray you do the same. Commending you, with my little Son, to the protection of Almighty God, I remain, most affectionately,

Yours,

S. DEANE.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, II., 364.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO EDWARD BANCROFT.

Philadelphia, March 22d, 1776.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you lately by Mr. Story, and since by another conveyance. This line will be delivered to you by Mr. Deane, who goes over on business of the Congress, and with whom you may freely converse on the affairs committed to you, in behalf of that body. I recommend him warmly to your civilities. Mess'rs Vaillant and Pechard continue close at their new business, and are already able to subsist by it: as they grow more expert, they will be able to make more money.

Mr. Deane will inform you of every thing here, and I need not add more, than that I am, with esteem and respect,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient,

And most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

The Port Folio, III., 214, *July* 2, 1803.

FROM GENERAL ARNOLD.

Camp before Quebeck, March 30, 1776.

DEAR SIR,—I have often sat down to write you, and as often been prevented by matters of consequence crowding upon me, which I could not postpone. I am now so much perplexed with a multiplicity of affairs that I can hardly form an assemblage of three ideas, and those, I am afraid, will not be very pleasing to you, as they convey no very agreeable intelligence, but rather matters of complaint (which, I make no doubt, you are daily troubled with). Without further preamble, I shall give you a short sketch of our strength, situation, prospects, &c. From the 1st of January to the 1st of March, we have never had more than seven hundred effective men on the ground, and frequently not more than five hundred; since which we have been increasing in our numbers, as you will observe by the enclosed morning reports. Our numbers are far short of what I expected before this time, and the New-England Troops will be of very little service to us for some time, as the greatest part of them have the small-pox. That fatal disorder got into our camp, though every method that prudence could suggest has been attempted to prevent it; a variety of orders have been repeatedly given (some of which I enclose), and as repeatedly disobeyed or neglected. The reinforcements (as fast as they came in), privately prepared and

inoculated (Colonel Warner's Regiment and Major Cady's detachment in particular); not one-quarter of the former, and very few of the latter, are fit for duty; so that the publick will incur an expense of at least twenty pounds for each of those people, who will not, on an average, have done ten days' service to the 15th April, to which time they are engaged. Our Surgeons are without medicine; our Hospitals crowded, and in want of almost every necessary.

Enclosed is a small sketch of the City of Quebeck and vicinity, by which you will see the great extent of ground we are obliged to occupy. No less than twenty-six miles makes a tour of the rounds, including three ferries. A few small cannon—sixes, twelves, and one twenty-four pounder, little ball, and less powder, cannot be expected to effect the reduction of a place so strongly fortified as Quebeck. Three seven-inch mortars, a few shells (and those too small), will cut a despicable figure at a bomb-battery, and serve but to expose our weakness; only one Artillery officer, and twenty matrosses, very few of whom know their duty; not one artificer for making carcasses, or any kind of fire-works. An able Engineer (a most necessary man in an army) wanting, and no prospect of being supplied with one; a well furnished military chest (which gives life and spirits to an army) entirely wanting, without which we cannot make one movement in this country. For, to tell you the truth, our credit extends no farther than our arms. Add to this catalogue, want of provisions (not more than one month's on hand), and our resources uncertain, and most of the New-England, and all the New-York Troops, engaged no longer than the 15th April, these are some few of the difficulties we have to encounter.

The want of money and provisions laid me under the necessity, the 4th of this month, to issue a Proclamation, giving our paper money a currency; promising to exchange it in four months for hard cash, at

the same time declaring those enemies who should refuse it. About fifteen thousand dollars have been paid away. Many received it willingly, but the greater part of the people were averse to taking it. This step could not possibly be avoided, and will have this good effect: those who have received it will be interested in keeping the credit of it good. Notwithstanding this long catalogue of wants, &c., we are determined to exert ourselves. The officers and men are in general in good spirits, but too few in numbers to attempt an escalade. We are, therefore, raising batteries; one on Point Levi, of three twelve-pounders and one eight-inch howitz, will be ready to open to-morrow; another on the Heights of Abraham, within five hundred yards of the wall, of one twenty-four-pounder, four twelves, two sixes, and two howitz, we expect to open in four or five days. I have one gondola, mounting one twelve-pounder, at Sellery, with several armed boats. I am preparing a fire-ship to send into the Cul-du-Sac, where the two frigates and merchant ships are lying, which I make no doubt will have a proper effect if we are not prevented by ice, or contrary winds, until the ships can lay in the stream. If we should be happy enough to succeed in destroying the ships, I think it will be impossible for the town to hold out until they can be relieved.

A few days since I received intelligence from Point La Caile (twelve leagues from the south shore) that a party of sixty men had landed there from Quebeck, and that two hundred and fifty Canadians had joined them, and seized a convoy of our provisions. I immediately despatched Major Dubourgs, Captain Bruyn, and eighty men, in pursuit of them, who surprised their advanced guard, killed seven, wounded two, and took thirty-eight prisoners, with the King's standard, without any loss on our side; the rest dispersed immediately, and everything now remains quiet.

It is now twelve o'clock at night, and I dare say you will be glad when I end my dull epistle.

I am, with great truth and sincerity, dear sir, your friend and humble servant,

BENEDICT ARNOLD.

To the Honourable Silas Deane, Esq.

Force's American Archives, 4th Series, V., 550.

FROM JOHN HANCOCK.

Philadelphia, April 3, 1776.

SIR,—I have it in command from Congress to direct that, upon the application of Silas Deane, Esq., you furnish him with a guard of twenty men, under a proper officer, to proceed with him to the Capes, from thence to be returned. You will, therefore, comply with this requisition immediately on his application.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

To the officer commanding the Continental Troops, or the officer commanding where this letter shall be produced.

Force's American Archives, 4th Series, V., 774.

FROM ROBERT MORRIS.

Phil^{a}. 4 April 1776.

D^{r}. SIR,—I rec^{d} your note at the State House, and on coming down here find your Conjecture about the Schooner is right; she is one that Col^{o}. Harrison fitted out in Maryland but I cannot find the Captain; other People tell me she is leaky & sickly; however I will have her fitted quick as possible and sent down with particular orders to attend you if she gets down in time.

This however is uncertain, and you must determine for yourself whether to wait for her or proceed without. You know how hard it will be to get the People on b^d again, but all the dispatch that is possible shall be made.

I am most
truly yours &c.
ROB^T MORRIS.

Silas Deane, Esq^r.

Thomas Mss.

FROM ROBERT MORRIS.

Phil^a. April 8^th 1776.

DEAR SIR,—The express delivered me yours of yesterday this morning, and I do not wonder you shou'd be uneasy in your present situation; be assured I have done every thing in my power to hurry the outfits of the Sloop & Schooner, but they came in such wrecks and have so much to be done to them that it has not been possible to get either of them away yet. The Schooner I believe will go down tomorrow morning for the sole purpose of Convoying you, & she must come directly back to finish her outfit, get men, &c.; but you may depend she shall be sent off tomorrow sometime, & the Captain shall have orders to obey you in all things untill you get safe out to Sea. In my oppinion this Easterly Wind is favourable for your design, and I hope it may last with thick weather untill you pass them; no time shou'd be lost after the Schooner gets down to you, but work down the Cape May Channell quick as possible, and I think after you get one days sail from the Coast you have not much to fear. I will write you more by the Schooner & am very sincerely

D^r Sir
Yours &c.
ROB^T MORRIS.

Silas Deane, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

From Robert Morris.

Phil^{a}. April 8th 1776.

Dear Sir,—I wrote you a few lines this morning by the return of your Express to whom I paid 40 s.– in full of all demands for his Journey; since his departure I procured a meeting of the Marine Committee and orders to send down the Schooner soon as possible; therefore I hope you will receive this from Cap^{t} Hallock who is order'd to Consult with you the best & safest method of getting out to Sea, and to follow such orders as you may give him from time to time untill your departure; when he is to return.

He has a letter for Cap^{t} Barry, & shou'd you be lucky enough to fall in with him he is directed to see you three or four days run off the Coast untill you & he may think the dangers of Tenders & Cutters is over. If you don't find Barry at the Capes you had best take the letter from Hallock, as you may fall in with Barry afterwards. I have ordered the Brig^{e} Polly, Capt. McFadden, to embrace this Convoy and go down in Comp'y with you, and most sincerely do I hope both of you may get clear; the 2^{d} bills for £1200 stg are on b^{d} her, and her Cargo Cost near £3000 Curr'y; therefore you'l have an Eye to her security as well as your own.

I am now at the 9th, & yesterday wrote a note to M^{r} Jay desiring him to furnish you with news and to send his letter to me; as yet it is not come; however there is little news to inform you of. The troops keep filing off from Boston for New York, where Man of Warr & some People on shore have had a little firing; I don't mean at the City, but in some part of that Bay our People took their Boats Crew prisoners, wounded some men, & obliged the Ship to Slip her Cable & anchor, which our Folks have since weighed and got; the report is that two or three Men of Warr are arrived at the Hook, so we may expect the Campaign will open in that quarter

before long. Nothing new from the Southward by the last Post.

I have just heard that Capt Barry was at Cape May last Friday & Convoyed out some New England Men; I hope you'l meet him. We find difficulty to get Men to go down in the Schooner, as they have a notion they will catch the distemper she brought in with her; but we must get the better of this oppinion, and perhaps I may write to you again if any delay happens, which however I will endeavour to prevent, being most truly

Dr. Sir Yours &c.
Robt Morris.

P.S. If you cou'd clear of Cape May in the night it might do well.

Silas Deane, Esqr.

Thomas Mss.

To Robert Morris.

[Bermuda, April 27, 1776.]

Dear Sir,—My letter of yesterday* I closed without the final determination of the Custom house, Cap. Henry Jackson being then at town. On his return he told me the comptroller continued obstinate as to entry or Register, coming to this resolution that he would not seize any vessel coming with provisions, nor would he enter them—indeed to seize them he dare not.

This is the more abusive as our cargo was landed and disposed of. I had provided the other sloop on the honor of the collector, that the Betsy should be entered and a register obtained, otherway I might have disposed of her and cargo to better advantage elsewhere. To send her to Hamburg, as you proposed, seems attended with expense and great risque, and on the best advice I could obtain, [I] finally determined to send her with her Hhds [hogsheads]

*Dated Bermuda, Apr. 26, 1776, and announcing his arrival on the 24th inst. in the sloop Betsy, Capt Tucker, after a passage of ten days from Chester.

filled with water for Ballast to Turks Island, directing the the Cap. to call at one of the Keys and go and enquire in his boat how the situation of affairs are, and if we can obtain an entry, then to make out a new Register in the name of Cap[t] H. Tucker of this island, and himself, and proceed to Jamaica.

He will have letters and papers proper for his purpose to give the appearance of his having been to St. Eustatia, and returning for salt, but should any difficulty arise, he is to take a trifle for salt and return to this island, and enter in ballast, which the comptroller has promised he will have no objection to.

This is the best I have been able to do with the sloop and wish she may meet with no accident on her voyage. Inclosed you have the charter party of the sloop I go in and that of her provisions, stores and disbursements, also of the sums I have rec'[d] of Mr. Tucker, whom I have ordered on closing the sales to vest the ballance in good bills and remit them to me by way of St. Eustatia, unless he should receive other directions from you.

The quantity of light money passing, prevented my obtaining a larger sum, and the Pork is principally on hand, but I believe will go off at six pounds to Barrell in a few days. I have agreed with Cap. T[ucker] on proper signals, in case of my sending anything this way; and in your letters to him, direct to Henry Tucker, Esq., Somerset, Bermuda, there being four of the name on the island. Some mistakes may otherwise happen, and one of them is, I understand, connected with the Governor.

The charter of the sloop is I think, high, but she suited my business well. Wish she may answer as well as she appears. I shall sail this day and am in haste. My comp[ts] to all friends.

I am D[r] Sir,

Your most sincere friend and very humble servant

S. DEANE.

Hon[l]. Robert Morris, Esq[r].

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

Arthur Lee to Charles W. F. Dumas.

May 21, 1776.

Sir,—Every thing is safe. I shall write you fully, next week, by our friend Storey. One Hortalez, will apply to you on business that concerns our friend S——. He has your address; be so good as to assist him.

I have the honor of being, Sir,
Your most obedient servant
Arthur Lee.

Storey goes from hence directly to America. A French gentleman named Hortalez, having something to negotiate for the Congress, in Holland, I have given him your address.

June 11. The arrival of reinforcements to the garrison of Quebec, before the besiegers were joined by those sent to their assistance, obliged them to raise the siege, and retire to join the main army. I shall be glad to hear from you when you have any thing of importance. Our friend S——y, desires to be remembered to you with great esteem.

Vryman will not do. The letter was opened.

Adieu,
Arthur Lee.

The Port Folio, III. 222, *July* 9, 1803.

From Robert Morris.

Philad[a], June 5, 1776.

D[r] Sir,—I had great satisfaction in receiving your favours of 26 Apr. and 3[d] Mar. from Bermuda, as I think there was little risque in the rest of your voyage and I flatter myself you have arrived safe previous to this date.

I extracted from your letter of the 26[th] all the parts

that related to the Public and laid them before Congress. Those extracts are committed, but no report is yet brought in. I am on the Committee and we meet tomorrow morning, but whether they will determine to benefit by your usefull hints or not, I cannot yet tell. You have mixed business with politics in your letter, which is a bad example, and I must try to avoid it, therefore this letter must be confined to the latter.

This goes by W^m^ Bingham, Esq^r^, a young Gentle^m^ who has for some time acted as Secretary of the Committee of Sec[ret] Correspondence. He carries with him triplicates of your credentials and instructions; the duplicates went by another conveyance, and each of these so well as yourself having an exceeding good chance to arrive safe, I think it needless to send you anymore. Mr. Bingham now goes out to Martinico in order to procure some arms for the Governor and with another view that I need not mention as he will write to you. You can send advices under cover to him, but you'l remember he is a young man, tho' a worthy young man. The papers he carries will give you the Public news, the worst part of which is an appearance of great division among ourselves, especially in this province. However, I believe the King has put an effectual stop to those dissensions, by his answer to an address of the L^d^ Mayor and aldermen, of the 22d. of March, as his Majesty has there totally destroyed all hopes of reconciliation. Untill I saw this answer, which in my opinion breathes nothing but death and destruction, everybody sees it in the same light and it will bring us all to one way of thinking, so that you may soon expect to hear of new governments in every colony, and in conclusion a declaration of Independancy by Congress. I see this step is inevitable and you may depend it will soon take place. Great Britain may thank herself for this event, for whatever may have been the original designs of some men in promoting the present contest, I am sure that America

in general never set out with any view or desire of establishing an independant Empire. They have been driven into it step by step with a reluctance that has been manifested in all their proceedings, and yet I dare say our enemies will assert that it was planned from the first movements. The dogs of war are now fairly let loose upon us. We are not dismayed, but expect to give a good account of the numerous hosts of foes that are coming to slaughter us, especially your Hessians, Hanovrians, Waldeckers, ect. Our climates will most probably handle them pretty severely before they get seasoned, and our troops are pretty well prepared for their reception. But the fortunes of war being ever uncertain, God only knows what may be the event.

Our affairs in Canada have been badly managed by your countryman, Gen[l] Worster, but I hope Gen[l] Thomas and your friend Arnold will invigorate them; however, I don't think we have any occasion to hold that country. If we maintain the passes on the Lakes it is sufficient for our purpose, and the garrisons that defend those passes will always be ready to rush into Canada if the enemy quit it, so that a good force, well posted for this purpose, may keep Mr. Burgoyne with his 10 m̄ men uselessly employed the whole year, without any expence of ammunition or loss of men on our side unless they attack exceedingly to their own disadvantage.

Gen[l] Washington has taken post at New York. He has lately been here attended by Gen. Gates and Gen. Mifflin, and the plan of operations has been fully settled in conferences between them and a commission of Congress appointed for that purpose; and in consequence of that arrangement we shall have not less than 30 m̄ men ready to take the field, so divided and posted as to oppose the enemy's attacks where ever made. Gen[l] Lee commands to the Southward and I fancy that Dep[t] will be well defended. We are to have a flying camp of 10 m̄ men here, the commander

of which is not yet named. Gen[l] Washington at New York, Gates at Boston, Thomas in Canada, and each of these is well supported by able general officers and we hope a sufficient number of troops. We are better supplied with powder than formerly. Our mills make it fast and some of the Colonies have had great success in making Saltpetre. Arms we are most in want of, but our manufactorys of them improve and increase daily.

In short it appears to me we shall be able to baffle all attempts of our enemy if we do but preserve Union among ourselves. I do not mean the Union of the Colonies but Union in each Colony. The former is safely fixed on a broad and firm basis, the latter has been greatly threatened. The necessity of assuming new governments has been pretty evident for some time, and the contest is who shall form them and who shall, upon such changes, shall come in for the Power. The divisions would probably have been very high, particularly in this province, had not his Majesty determined so peremptorilly that there can be no reconciliation but through the door of abject submission. This seems to bend all men's minds in one way, and I have no doubt but harmony will be restored and our united efforts excited to defend our country and its Freedom, in which God grant Success to an injured and oppressed people.

One of our cruisers has lately taken a valuable prize and carried her safe into Boston with 1500 bbls of powder, 1000 stands of arms and a variety of other articles on Board; and the two New York pilot boats that were fitted out as privateers from hence have taken three large ships bound from Jamaica to London with 1082 hhds of sugar, 260 puncheons of Rum, 300 casks Piemento, 22,000 hard dollars, 70 pipes of Madaira wine and a number of other valuable articles. I fancy many more West Indiamen will be taken this Summer and probably Great Britain may have cause to repent the pro-

hibitory act, especially as they have much more property to loose than we have.

We have a number of six nation indians now in the city upon the most friendly terms and I hope shall be able to continue them in our friendship, altho' I now much suspect that if we evacuate Canada, the indians and canadians may be prevailed upon to act against us. However, if the passes on the Lakes are well fortified and guarded, we need not mind or fear them.

Our money holds its credit but we must not issue too much of it. Therefore when we find the circulation begin to clog we must borrow it in and fund it. Pray what think you of negotiating with Holland for a loan of specie and how shall we offer them security, for at present I doubt if any power in Europe will trust us, but probably after the next campagne they may think better of our credit.

Commodore Hopkins has fallen short of expectation, and his fleet which might have performed most signal service under an active, vigilant man have been most useless. He remains with the Alfred at Rhode Island, and the rest are gone and going on separate cruises after transports, ect. Our frigates are nearly ready but their guns are not yet finished. We shall be carefull who are trusted to command them, and from these we may expect good service. This navy must be increased, and you must continue to make it known that noble encouragement is given to seamen of all nations that will enter the American service. I have n[o time] to enlarge and therefore conclude with as[suring you] of that true esteem with which I am

Your friend and servant,

ROBERT MORRIS

M^r^ S. Deane.

Endorsed—"rec^d^ the 19^th^ and forwarded the 21^st^ Sep. 1776 by y^r^ most ob^t^, Hb^le^ St^s^ S and J. H D[elap.]

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

To Robert Morris.

Bordeaux, June 23d, 1776.

Dear Sir,—I wrote you a long letter from 6th to this day, which I delivered Capt. Palmer of Portsmouth, & fearing accidents, I recapitulate the heads in this (viâ New York). I arrived the 6th, sent forward your letters and the bills for acceptance. Mess. D. have done every thing in their power to assist me, and have added the utmost personal kindness and hospitality. I could wish no American vessls were sent to any other address in this port. It is a capital house, & may be relied on, for secresy and despatch. I have critically attended to such occurrences as might point out the disposition of this Kingdom, & am of opinion it is much in our favour—Large fleets are fitting at Brest and Toulon—Ammunition and other stores are buying by order of the Court. Spain is arming ostensibly against Portugal. The crop of Grain will be short in this Kingdom—Of Wheat one third, of Rye one half of the usual supply—This may be relied on. Salt provisions are scarce & dear—56s Stg p Bbl, &c., see prices currt enclosed. I have written into Spain, Portugal, & England, to find if they are in the same situation, & as I wrote immediately on my arrival, expect an answer in a few days. Messrs D.s have written on the same subject. I set out for Paris tomorrow, having obtained letters to Persons of note in Paris, particularly to Mons. Clugney, Comptroller of Finances, Mons. Vergennes, Ministre des affaires Etrangeres, & some others; also to the Farmers General, on the subject of Tobacco, from their agent here, & a memorial from this city on the subject of American commerce, which is in part already obtained, it having been sent forward, in a few days after my arrival. My letters are from persons of consequence & influence here—My immediate address will be to Messrs Germany, Gerardot & Co., Bankers in Paris, on whom I have letters of credit from hence. I have

had all the success I could have wished for in this City, & have formed a connection, which may greatly promote my further views, by shewing them how deeply they were interested in obtaining the chief share of American commerce. No remittances or intelligence of any kind from the Committee. The Ministry was changed the week of my arrival—Count Maurepas is at the Head; Monsr. Clugny, late intendt of this City & province, is Comptroller of finances, a circumstance, which has greatly helped my obtaining letters of introduction.—The gentlemen, who have assisted me, I may not take notice of in my letters, only that they are of note, & stand well with the ministry. I leave the sloop, I came in, here for the present —expect to meet Doctor Bancroft at Paris, & may send my first despatches in her; none of the articles of the contract are to be purchased in this part of France, on any reasonable terms, and but few at any rate; have written to all the ports where remittances were expected—for, though I can obtain credit, the last necessity, only, will induce me to use it, when remitting is so hazardous,—but I am hourly in hopes of receiving something from you. I can add nothing material in this. My respectful compliments to the gentlemen of the Congress, the worthy President, and committee with which you are connected, in particular, & am with respects to Mrs. Morris,

Dear Sir, Your sincere friend
& very Humble servt
S. Deane.

P. S. As my letters will often refer to matters concerning the Indian contract in particular, as well as to those of a general nature, it will be at times much easier for me to direct my letters, & write them addressed individually to you, as in the present case, than to write in the plural stile of address.

To Robert Morris Esqr, to be communicated to the hond committee for Secret Correspondence.

Lee Papers, Harvard University.

From Edward Bancroft.

Dear Sir,—Your kind Fav^{r} of the 7th ins^{t} occasioned me a most agreeable surprize. It came to my hands last Sunday, whilst I was burning under the Paroxysm of a quotidian Intermittent with which I had been affected for some days, but happily this day has passed, without any appearance of it, and I now consider myself as well. And therefore sit down to assure you that nothing can give me greater pleasure than to renew & improve "our old acquaintance," and that nothing on my part shall be wanting thereto.

I am under the necessity of going tomorrow to the Seat of Mr. Walpole (Member of P^{t} for Lynne) at Carshalton; with him I shall stay until Fryday, when we are to Dine with Lord Camden who setts out the day after for Ireland. This Visit being over, I shall with all possible expedition, prepare myself for the Pleasure of meeting you in Paris; for which, I have resolved to set out on Monday or at farthest on Tuesday next; and as I shall make all possible haste, you may conjecture as well as I can, the time at which I shall arrive there. I have carefully attended to every part of y^{r} Letter, and shall endeavour to comply with your wishes in every respect. On my arrival in Paris, I shall apply, as desired, to Mess^{rs} Germany & C^{o}., for a Direction to you; and until then I beg you will believe me to be with great Esteem

D^{r} Sir,
Your most Obedient
& Devoted Humble Servant
Edw^{d} Bancroft.

Downing Street [London]
June 25, 1776, ½ past 11 at night.
Addressed, S. Deane, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

From Caron de Beaumarchais.

Paris, ce 14 Juillet, 1776

Je ne sais Monsieur, Si vous avéz auprès de vous quelqu'un sur qui vous compties asses pour lui donner a traduire les lettres françaises qui traitent d'affaires graves. De mon coté, je ne pourai le faïre sur les lettres anglaises avec liberté qu'a l'arrivée de quelqu'un qui j'attens d'angleterre en ce moment et qui nous servira d'interprete. Je puis cependant avoir l'honneur de vous prévenir qu'occupé depuis longtems du désir d'aider les braves américains a secouer le joug anglais ; J'ai deja tenté diverses manières d'ouvrir un commerce sur et secrét entre le Congrès général et un maison que je forme a ce sujet. Par la voie de nos iles ou directement, je ferai ensorte de pouvoir le continent des objects dont les américans auront besoin et qu'ils ne peuvent plus tirer d'Angleterre. Je m'en suis ouvert avec une personne à Londres qui se dit très attachée aux intéréts de l'Amérique, mais notre commerce depuis mon retour ayant été difficile et en chiffres, je n'ai pas recu de reponse a ma derniere, par laquelle j'essayais d'asseoir solidement les conditions de cette grande affaire.

Puisque vous avés un caractère, Monsieur, qui permet de prendre confiance en vous : je ne demande pas mieux que de recommencer d'une façon plus sure et plus suivie une négotiation que je ne puis regarder que comme ebauchée avec tout autre. Mes moyens ne sont pas encore bien considérables, mais ils peuvent s'accroitre infiniment, si nous nous parvenons a poser ensemble les fondemens d'un traité sortables pour les conditions et exact pour l'éxécution.

Je ne puis accorder ni a M. Dubourg ni [a] personne qu'a vous Monsieur, la confiance de parler librement de mon plan de commerce : Mais lorsque vous avés comparé la nature des offres qui vous viendront de toute part avec le zéle desintéressé qui m'attache a la cause de l'Amérique ; vous sentirés la difference

qu'il y a de traiter avec des negotians ordinaires et aux conditions les plus dures, avec le bonheur de rencontre un ami généreux qui se fera un plaisir de prouver a votre nation et a vous, son répresentant Secret, avec quel dévoûment, Je suis Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obeissant Serviteur

CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

M^r^ Deine, agent du Congrés.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

TRANSLATION.

Paris, July 14, 1776.

I do not know, Sir, whether you have with you any one in whom you sufficiently confide to permit him to translate letters written in French and treating of important matters. For my part I cannot with confidence obtain translations from English until the return of a certain person now in England, whom I am expecting daily and whom we may employ as an interpreter.

In the meanwhile, I have the honor to advise you that for some time past I have cherished a desire to aid the brave Americans to shake off the British yoke, and I have already attempted in various ways to begin secret and reliable business relations between the general Congress and a firm that I have formed for this purpose. By way of our French islands, or directly, I can contrive to convey to the Continent of America the things needed by the Americans which they cannot obtain from England. I intimated as much to a person in England who declared himself to be exceedingly attached to American interests, but correspondence since my return being difficult and conducted in cipher, I have received no answer to my last communications, in which I endeavored to definitely arrange the terms of this important affair.

Since you, Sir, have a standing that invites confidence, I ask nothing better than to recommence in a

surer and more connected manner the negotiations which I must regard as having failed with all other persons.

My means are not as yet great, but they may increase enormously if we can agree together upon the terms of a contract properly drawn and precise as to its execution.

I am unwilling to accord to M^r^ Dubourg or to any one else except to you, Sir, my entire confidence in speaking of this plan; but when you have compared the offers which will come to you from all other quarters with my own disinterested ardor for the cause of America, you may realize the difference between treating with the common run of agents and under the hardest conditions, and the pleasure of finding a generous friend who will take delight in proving to your nation and to you, its confidential representative, with what sincerity I am, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

To M^r^ Deane, Agent of Congress.

To CONRAD A. GERARD.

Paris, July 18th, 1776.

SIR,—I have now the honor of inclosing you the Mem^o^. I mentioned yesterday, & rely on your Candor to pardon if too tedious, on Containing but little, as I am sensible, save what you are already acquainted with. Monsieur Dubourg this morning informed me that Monsieur Beaumarchais (I think the Gentleman's Name is) was gone to Versailles to speak to his Excellency on a subject which was part of our yesterdays Conversation. As this is an object of great importance to my Constituents, & to be pursued with great prudence & Delicacy by those who wish well to their Cause, I could have desired previously to lay before his Excellency, a Clause of my particular Instructions

on that subject, & which I should have acquainted him with at first, but from an apprehension of being too precipitate, & of presuming too farr on his Goodness at that time, but had resolved on it after you should have been with him on the subject of yesterday's Conference; but I submit it to your better judgment, whether to render the proceedings of the above Gentleman more consistent, or at least better founded, I ought not to do it immediately. The Contents are generally, to make the application at a proper Season for certain Articles particularized as to Number, Size, Quantity, and Quality; it is hardly safe to be more particular in a Letter or would send you a copy. Your advice in this matter will add to the obligations already conferr'd your most Obed't

& Very Hum^l^. Serv^t^.

SILAS DEANE.

I ask one Line if it be only to Satisfy me of the Rec^t^. of this.

[Memorandum enclosed.]

Mr. Deane has received the following Intelligence which may be relied on as being Authentic.

The Congress on the 15th of May came to a Resolution of Independence, copy of which is below.

American United Colonies

In Congress, May 15th, 1776.

WHEREAS his Brittannick Majesty, in Conjunction with the Lords & Commons of Great Brittain, has by a late Act of Parliament, excluded the Inhabitants of these United Colonies from the protection of the Crown.

AND WHEREAS no Answer whatever to the humble Petition of the Colonies for redress of Grievances and Reconciliation with Great Brittain has been, or is likely to be given; But the whole force of the King-

dom aided by foreign Mercenaries is to be exerted for the Destruction of the good people of these Colonies.

And Whereas it appears absolutely irreconcilable to Reason & good Conscience for the people of these Colonies to take the Oaths, and Affirmations necessary for the support of any Government of Great Brittain, & it is necessary the exercise of any kind of Authority under the said Crown should be totally suppressed, & all the powers of Government exerted under the Authority of the People of these Colonies for the preservation of internal Peace, Virtue & good Order as well as for the defence of Ourselves, Liberties, & properties against the hostile invasions, & cruel Depredations of Our Enemies. Therefore

Resolved, That it be recommended to the respective Assemblies, & Conventions of the United Colonies, (where no Government sufficient to the exigencies of their Affairs has been hitherto established,) To adopt such Government as shall in the opinion of the Representatives of the People best conducive to the happiness & safety of their Constituents in particular, & America in general.

By Order of Congress
John Hancock, President.

This intelligence assures Mr. Deane that he will soon receive particular and important Instructions in consequence of this Resolution from the Congress of the United Colonies, whose Eyes were fixed on the Court of France for Countenance & encouragement in this great Struggle, and to which Court their first application should be made.

Mr. Deane further learns that the Colonies continue united & resolute, that they had strongly fortified all their principal ports, particularly Boston, Newport, New London, New York & Philadelphia. That their Shipps of Warr, & privateers had been very successful, & taken many valuable prizes, among others the *Lynx Man of Warr*, And that the Chiefs of the

Indians on the Frontiers to a large Number had arrived at Philadelphia on the 3d of June to confer with the Congress and confirm a League of Friendship, & Alliance.

Thus farr the intelligence is undoubtedly to be relied on.

A Report prevailed when it came away that General Howe had met with a defeat in attempting to Land at Rhode Island in which he suffered much. This wants Confirmation ; But the time in which it is said to have happened agrees well with that in which he might have been expected at that place, as he left Hallifax about the 10th of May.

The critical situation of his Country & the uncertain issue of the most just & well concerted War, makes Mr. Deane anxiously attentive to every thing which may affect the present, and therefore he takes Liberty to mention that by Letters from London, and also from Amsterdam, he is told that the British Court have sent to apply to the Court of France to have all Commerce with the United Colonies prohibited, & even to propose to them their taking an active part against them. He knows not the Foundation of this Report, but British Ships of Warr are cruising off the River Bordeaux & some other other ports to intercept all Commerce between the two Countries, & have even proceeded to Search Shipps belonging to the Subjects of France on these Coasts.

Great Brittain, sensible of the justice of the Complaints & remonstrances of the Colonies and conscious of her own favorite ambitious Views of fixing an Absolute & boundless Empire in the Western World, has from the first refused to hear their most humble petitions, being predetermined to carry this design into Execution, & knowing it would never be effected but by reducing the Colonies to an absolute & military Government ; in the pursuit of this they have not hesitated to Sacrifice a Capital Branch of their Commerce, & source of National as well as individual Wealth (for

a Time, at least) and the National Justice, honor, & humanity forever.

Let the boldest of them deny, or the most subtle attempt to evade this charge, and their whole conduct falls into the wildest inconsistency and madness. To the impartial within as well as without the Nation all has appeared mysterious. That a Court so attentive to its own Interest & Grandeur should pertinaciously pursue measures obviously destructive of both must forever appear so without this Clue which at once unravels the whole.

The absolute & sole Dominion of the Western World must refund their present expenses, in which they have already advanced too far to retreat without instant Ruin. To effect this, whilst the Colonies have had recourse to prayers & entreaties, have appealed to the honor, the Justice of the Nation, & to that tender & mutual affection which had from the first subsisted, & ought ever to subsist between them, as well as to every sacred & endearing type of civil Society—Great Brittain has persevered in a Series of the most oppressive & cruel, as well as injurious Acts, both public & private.

Driven to the last resource, To Arms, the Colonies relied solely on the Justice of their Cause, & their own Fortitude, whilst Great Brittain stiling herself the Mistress of the Ocean & Arbitress of Europe has applied to every foreign power with whom they had any hopes of succeeding, has even debased herself to Treat with Savages & Slaves for Aid in a Contest apparently as unequall as cruel & unnatural.

In this Crisis the Colonies have no Alternative—Death or Submission to Slavery admits of none—They behold the Storm increasing, and though they view the gathering Tempest unappall'd, yet Justice to Themselves, their Posterity, & Mankind interested in the Event, lead them to consult & pursue the most probable means of opposing with Success.

In this Situation, with a Resolution of applying to

the Court of France, and laying their Case undisguisedly before them, they are confident its well known humanity will not suffer Countenance or aid to be given to the Oppressor. That its interest will never permit it to further the Views of its most inveterate & hereditary Enemy, and its sacred regard to Justice permit the United Colonies to be heard, & their Cause Judged impartially, which has from the first been their whole Demand.

In the course of which it will appear they have not been the aggressors, nor in any instance took a single step, or made a Claim beyond the rights & privileges to which they were (by the early & repeated Acknowledgements of Great Brittain) intituled, and in which they had from their first Settlement enjoyed under the most solemn Compacts between the Crown & them.

On the other hand, it will appear that immediately after the close of the last Warr in which they were involved solely by their Connection with Great Brittain, and in which, without sharing any of the ceded Territories, they had exerted themselves to the Utmost of their Abilities, & been so lavish of their Men & Money as to extort even from Great Brittain a Confession that they had derived from them the principal Sources for Supporting a Warr, of the success of which Brittain still boasts.

That immediately after this Warr, when the whole attention of the Colonies was turned to their own Domestic Concerns, & were unsuspiciously settled down at their old simple pursuits & the Cultivation of their Lands, fondly hoping to enjoy in peace the Fruits of their own Labor, This System pregnant with (what they must ever consider as) their own immediate ruin, & which must ultimately affect every Power in Europe, interested in America, was formed, & its execution entered on as early as 1764. In the pursuit of which measures have been devised & Acts passed, to take at once from the Colonies their dear bought Rights & Privileges, & so render their persons

& properties absolutely subject to and at the disposal of the Parliament, or in other words, the Ministry of Great Brittain, to enumerate the whole of which proceedings would be tedious & unnecessary, in a word, when they found the Colonies too much alarmed & the Times not ripe for their purpose, they receded, & courted the Confidence of the Colonies, which on a supposition of having gained they again pursued with fresh Steps their original design, and that it was no other but this, the establishing an exclusive & absolute Dominion in America, may be proved by a variety of Evidence, some of which has already been pointed out, much more may in the course of this inquiry be produced.

It will further appear that finding from a Ten years experience the Colonies absolutely averse to this System, Great Brittain took the Resolution of reducing them by Arms, & the horrors, & barbarities of a Warr which will forever reflect disgrace on its Author, & stain the Annals of Civilized Nations. Confidence of Success rendered them regardless of their Conduct, and the passion for Domination & Wealth which first urged the Few to concert this plan, possessing the unprincipled many employed in the execution produced the dreadful Consequences of which we Complain.

Further, on a full examination of the Case of the United Colonies, it will be found evidently necessary, for the Powers in Europe interested in America to interpose, not solely on the Score of humanity, & justice, but to preserve their own Settlements in that Quarter of the Globe from falling under the power of Great Brittain.

And if it should further appear, that such Assistance & interposition as is necessary for this purpose may be afforded the United Colonies without giving Cause for disturbing the Tranquility of Europe, they will undoubtedly be thought intituled to receive it, as those who bestow it will forever, to their Gratitude, Friendship, and good offices of the United Colonies.

But this extensive Subject has already drawn out the Memorandum too farr—a more proper Time will soon arrive for pursuing it, to which refer many things on my Mind.

Thursday, July 18th, [1776.]

Stevens's Facsimiles, Nos. 571, 572.

To Caron de Beaumarchais.

Paris Hotel d^e^ Grand Villars July 20^th^ 1776.

Sir,—In compliance with your Request at our Interview of yesterday, I send you inclosed Copies of my Commission, & an Extract from my Instructions which will fully satisfy you of my being authorized to make the purchases I have applied to you for. To understand this Extract it is necessary to inform you that I was ordered to make my first application to the Minister and to procure the Supplies wanted of them, by way of purchase or Loan, and in case the Credit or Influence of Congress should not be such under the present Circumstances as to obtain them from that Quarter, I was instructed then to apply elsewhere; my application to the Minister, and his answer I have acquainted you with. With respect to the Credit which will be required for the Goods and Stores which I propose to engage of you, I hope that a long one will not be necessary; twelve months has been the longest Credit my Countrymen have ever been accustomed to, and Congress having engaged large Quantities of Tobacco in Virginia & Maryland as well as other articles in other Parts which they will ship as fast as Vessels can be provided, I have no doubt but very considerable Remittances will be made within six months from the time, and for the whole within the year. This I shall in my Letters urge Congress to do, but the Events of War are uncertain and our Commerce is exposed to be affected thereby; I hope however that at least such remittances will be made you, that

you will be able to wait for whatever sum may remain due after the Credit we shall agree on is expired, having the usual Interest allowed you.—I send you also an Invoice of the Cloathing and of many of the articles of Furniture & Stores necessary for our Army, in which I cannot be so particular at present as it will be necessary to be hereafter in case you undertake, but as the articles for the Uniforms can at this time be ascertained as well as ever, I have made out the detail of them—Though my Instructions speak of but 200 Brass Cannon and of Arms & Cloathing for but 25000 men, yet considering the importance of these articles to America, I shall if to be obtained venture on a larger Quantity; the probability of some part being taken with other Circumstances will I think fully justify me therein. But it is improper to add on this subject untill you resolve whither you will undertake, and on what Terms—which I presume you will do. As soon as you shall have obtained a Translation of this & the inclosed, I will do myself the honor of waiting on you, & in the meantime, am with the utmost Respect & Attachment

Sir, Your most Obed^{t} &c.

S. Deane.

Mons^{r} Beaumarchais.

Thomas Mss.

From Caron de Beaumarchais.

Paris, le 22 Juillet, 1776.

Je vais vous répéter, Monsieur, ce que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous dire Samdi passé, afin que les conditions que je demande soient plus fixées dans votre esprit. Mes moyens d'aider les colonies unis ne sont pas a beaucoup près aussi étendus que la desir que J'ai de la faire. Il n'y a qu'une circulation non interrompue de retour sur mes envois qui puisse me mettre en etat de renouveller mes premieres efforts et d'en propager les effects a des sommes plus considerables. Il me serait

d'ailleurs impossible, Monsieur, de suivre exactement l'ordre et l'etat des fournitures dont vous avés besoin. Toutes ne peuvent pas s'obtenir aussi facilement ni aussi vite, les unes que les autres. Mon engagement ne peut aller quant a présent qu'a me raprocher de mon mieux de vos demandes : ayant vos factures sous les yeux, je ferai les commandes ; mais les objects arriveront a nos ports inégalement et la totalité ne s'en complétera peutetre qu'apres plusieurs cargaisons parties.

Nous convenons aussi que les 1^res^ vaisseaux d'Amerique qui arriveront chargés des denrees de votre payÿs commenceront la circulation des retours a mon profit, de maniere que je puisse faire vendre ces denrées et accroitre par la et les moyens que j'ai d'agir et la confiance de mes amis pour engager de nouveaux fonds dans l'affaire. Nous convenons aussi que les marchandises que les risques de la mer ou tels autres dangers ne me permetteront pas de faire aller en droiture au continent seront employées a nos iles du Golph, et que pour une autre circulation de la mesme espèce que celles d'Europe, touts les vaisseaux amérricans qui pourront y aborder avec les denrées du continent ou seulement avec la possibilite de prendre à ces dépots les cargaisons que J'y aurai envoyées, les enleveront et feront une espèce de cabotage de nos iles au continent et du continent a nos iles, avec le plus d'aliment possible a notre commerce.

Quant aux valeurs des objects de retours, Je n'entens en tenir compte que sur la teneure exacte de leur vente en Europe et tout frais prélevés. Je donnerai sur les sommes nettes que je recevrai des quittances a compte ; et je vous promets si vos commettans sont fideles a ces conventions, comme je l'espère, d'employer toujours ces fonds de retour a de nouvelles avances.

Le cours d'une année est bien long pour les soldes : mais comme l'etat des choses ne permet pas, quant a present, de prétendre a un plus court terme, Je m'y soumets, sans en faire une loi de votre accord ; et

bien entendu qu'il ne me sera rien soustrait sur toutes les cargaisons arrivants en france, et que nous destenons d'avance a satisfaire en tout ou partie a la dette que vous contractés au nom de votre païs avec ma maison.

A l'egard des prix aux quels seront fixées les marchandises d'Europe ; ils dépendront du plus ou moins de soins, de peïnes et de dépenses, qu'il faudra faire pour les rendre a leur véritables destination, qui est le continent. Comme je crois avoir affaire a un peuple vertueux, il me suffira de tenir par devers moi un compte exacte de toutes mes avances : le Congrés sera le maitre ou de payer ces marchandises sur leur valeur usuelle, au temps de leur arrivée, ou de les recevoir suivant les prix d'achats, les retards, les assurances avec une commïssïon proportionnée aux peines, ce qu'il est impossible de fixer aujourdui, car il est impossible de prévoir jusqu'ou iront les entraves et les obstacles qu'il nous faudra vaincre, ni les frais que tout cela entraïnera.

J'entens servir votre païs comme s'il etait le mien et j'espère trouver dans l'amitie d'un peuple généreux la véritable récompense de mes travaux que je lui consacre avec plasir. Vous pouvés donc, Monsieur, me faire l'honneur de venir arranger touts les details de ces choses avec moi. Je vous demande toute la discretion dont vous sentés que nous avons besoin pour ne pas exciter l'attention de l'Ambassadeur anglais et ne pas allarmer nos ministres par des plaintes de cet ambassadeur ; ce qui nous donnerait d'etranges embarras. Notre affaire unique a vous et moi c'est de glisser sourdement entre les doigts de tout le monde et de ne faire crier a personne en allant a nos fins. Je suis avec la plus haute considération, Monsieur, Votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur,

CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

M. Silas Deane.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

TRANSLATION.

Paris, July 22, 1776.

I am about to repeat, Sir, what I had the honor of saying to you on Saturday last, that the terms I have stated may be more clearly impressed on your mind. My resources for aiding the colonies, are by no means as great as I desire. Nothing but an uninterrupted course of returns on my shipments can enable me to repeat my first efforts, and continue their benefits by employing larger sums. It will also be impossible, Sir, for me to follow precisely the order and sort of munitions you desire. Some of them are to be obtained more easily and quickly than others. At present I am unable to do more than approximate to the best of my ability what you ask for.

Having your specifications before me I will give my orders, but the whole of these things will come to our ports at different times and may not be entirely completed until several cargoes have been sent.

It is therefore agreed that the first vessels from America, bringing cargoes from your country, are to begin the series of returns for my profit, to enable me to sell the merchandise and thus increase my capital and the confidence of my friends, that they may be inclined to reinvest money in the scheme.

We also agree that the goods that cannot be sent directly to the mainland, on account of the perils of the sea or of other dangers, shall be used in our West India islands, and all the American vessels that may come thither with produce of the mainland, or merely touch there, shall, whenever possible, take cargoes from the goods in my storehouses, carry them across, and thus establish a sort of ferry from our islands to the mainland, and back again, to the greatest possible increase of our trade.

As to the value of the returns, I estimate it on the exact figures of their sale in Europe, deducting all

charges. I will give receipts for all net sums received by me, and I promise you, in case those whom you represent are faithful to these terms that I hope to always employ the proceeds for new advances.

A year is a long time to wait for payment, yet since the present circumstances do not permit us to assume a shorter period I submit to it, but without regarding it as a fixed term in your favor, and desiring that it be perfectly well understood that I have a right to all cargoes arriving in France, which we now agree to devote, in whole or in part, to the satisfaction of the debt you are contracting in behalf of your country with my firm.

In regard to the price of goods from Europe, that must depend, more or less, on the care, trouble, and expense of getting them to the mainland, their ultimate destination. As I believe that I am dealing with honest people, I shall be content to keep an exact account of all advances made by me; and Congress may determine whether to pay for the goods on arrival at their current value, or at their cost, including expenses arising from delays, insurance, and a commission in proportion to the trouble, that cannot now be fixed because it is impossible to foresee either the extent of the difficulties to be overcome or the expense attending them.

I desire to serve your country as if it were my own, and I hope to find in the friendship of a generous people the true reward of the labor that I consecrate to them.

You can therefore, Sir, do me the honor to come and arrange all details in regard to everything with me.

I ask that you will employ all the discretion of which you realize that you have need, to avoid the attention of the English Ambassador, and not to make our Ministers apprehensive in consequence of his complaints, thus involving us in peculiar embarrassments. Our only endeavor should be to escape all obser-

vation and not to excite remark in attaining our ends.

I am with the highest consideration
Your very humble and obedient servant,
CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

To Mr. Silas Deane.

TO CONRAD A. GERARD.

Paris, July 22, 1776.

SIR,—Inclosed I send you a Copy of the Article of my Instructions which was the subject of Our last Conference. I have not as yet had the pleasure of seeing Monsieur Beaumarchais, but am so Confident from the Character I received of him from you that he will be able to procure for me the Articles I want, that I shall apply to him in preference to any other person; and I imagine thro' him the Stores mentioned in my Instructions may be procured with the utmost Secrecy and Certainty. They will Amount to a Considerable Sum, & as the Colonies expect, & are willing to give a Commission, for Negotiating the Business, this Concern may turn very well to his Business, this Concern may turn very well to his Account without his having much Trouble in the affair.

I have the honor to be most Respectfully
Your most Obliged &
Very Hum. Serv^{t}.
SILAS DEANE.

To Monsieur Gerard.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 573.

TO CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

Paris, 24th July, 1776.

SIR,—I have considered the Letter you honored me with the 22^{d}, and am of the opinion that your proposals for regulating the Prices of the Goods and

Stores are just, & equitable. The generous Confidence you place in the Virtue & Justice of my Constituents affords me the greatest pleasure, and gives me the most flattering prospects of Success, in the undertaking, to their, as well as your satisfaction, and permit me to assure you the United Colonies will take the most effectual measures to make you Remittances, and to justify in every respect the Sentiments you entertain of them; but at the same time as the Invoice for Cloathing only, & without the incident Charges, amounts to between Two & three Million of Livres, and as the Cannon, Arms & Stores will raise the Sum much higher I cannot, considering the uncertainty of the Arrival of Vessels during the War, venture to assure you, that Remittances will be made for the whole, within the time proposed, but in that Case, as I wrote you before, I hope that the Interest on the Ballance will be satisfactory. With respect to Cargoes sent from America either to France, or the West Indies, designed as remittances for your advances, I think there can be no objection to their being sent to the address of your House in France, or to your agents when they arrive. I find that Cannon, Arms and other Military Stores are prohibited, and cannot be Exported, but in a private manner; this Circumstance gives me many apprehensions, for as I cannot have those things shipp'd publicly, I cannot have them purchased openly without giving alarm fatal perhaps to our operations. In this Case various deceptions and impositions may be practised. You know that the Ambassador of England is attentive to every thing done by me, and that his Spies watch every motion of mine, & will probably watch the motions of those with whom I am known to be connected in this Situation, and being a stranger in a great measure to your Language, I foresee many Embarrassments, which I know not how to obviate, and such as I fear may greatly perplex even yourself, notwithstanding your superior knowledge, and address.

Two things you will agree with me, are as essential as even the procuring of the Cannon, Arms &c., first that they are good, and well laid in, and that they be embarked without being stopped, & detained. The Fate of my Country depends in a great measure, on the arrival of these Supplies. I cannot therefore be too anxious on the Subject, nor is there any Danger or Exposure so great, but what must be hazarded, if necessary to effect so Capital, & important an object. I pray you to consider this subject, and to give me your thoughts upon it. I called on you this morning with Dr. Bancroft to have conversed on this Subject, but found you was gone to Versailles; permit me to urge your early attention to this subject, and to assure you I have the honor to be with the highest Respect,

Sir yours &c.,

S. Deane.

To Mr. Beaumarchais.

Thomas Mss.

To Charles W. F. Dumas.

Paris, July 26, 1776.

Sir,—The inclosed letter from Dr. Franklin, will hint at my business in this city, where I arrived the 7th instant, and I should have sent forward this earlier had I not hopes of having the honor of presenting it to you in person. This I now find I cannot expect without delaying it beyond all bounds. I therefore forward it by the common conveyance, and inform you that my address in this city is to Messrs. Germany, Gerardot & Co., Bankers; that I shall tarry here until the last of August, when I propose going to Denmark, thence to Amsterdam and Hamborough, in which Journey shall hope for the pleasure of seeing you, and in the mean time be happy in a correspondence with you on the subject of the dispute between the United Colonies and Great Britain, or any other that shall be agreeable to you, and I wish to be

informed if I shall be in danger of any disagreeable treatment in my journey through Holland, in a private capacity, though it should be known I was in the service of the United Colonies. It has been suggested to me, that I might meet with some interruption or difficulties from the friends of the British ministry, which occasions my making this inquiry.

I have the honour to be,
With the utmost respect,—Sir,
Your most obedient, and
Very humble servant,
SILAS DEANE.

P. S. I read and understand the French language tolerably though I am unable to write it.

The Port Folio, III., 214, *July* 2, 1803.

FROM CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

Paris ce 26 Juillet, 1776.

Nous parlerons de votre reconnaissance, Monsieur, et de celle de votre Païs, lorsque le Service sera rendu. Nous n'en sommes encore qu'aux efforts. Celle qui me touchera le plus sera d'etre regardé comme un véritable amī des noble Soutiens de votre liberté. quant aux redevances en argent; l'Equité seule poura les aprécier, D'après les témoignages que vous Serés aportée de rendre vous mesme a vos commettans de l'activite, du zéle et des ressources qui nous aurons employés a Vaincre les obstacles. Ne vous occupés poīnt de chercher des canons ny d'autres armes. Vous etes trop neuf en ce païs pour réussir a vous procurer aucune de ces objèts. Il n'y a mesme que les arcénaux, ou magazins du Roī ou l'on puisse esperer d'en trouver de l'excélent qualité qui vous est necessaire. Il est possible que dans la quantité excédente aux besoīns du Service, Je trouve a achéter, en tout, ou partié, ce que nous cherchons—Mais, Je ne le puis qu'avec des

précautions extrèmes, et en déguïsant absolument la destination, l'emploi et mesme le nom de l'acheteur. Plusieurs personnes Sont déja en route pour aller faire de ma part et Secrement les perquisitions necessaires a cet object. les Soins, les travaux, les gratifications, rien ne me coutera pour connaitre a fond le nombre et la bonté des armes et de l'artillerie que nous pouvons nous procurer. Soyés tranquile. Mais Il me parait impossible, Si Je puis compléter vos demandes, qu'un train d'artillerie aussi important, parte Sans conducteurs, et mesme sans officiers : car chez un peuple aussi pacifique que les américains l'ont eté jusqu'a présent, tout ce qui tient a l'art de la tactique doit etre inconnu, et la façon de conduire doctement une artillerie etant la partié la plus difficile de cette tactïque, vous ne devés pas heziter de Suivre le premier plan de M^r^ arthur Lée dont je vous aï parlé, et qui Etait de faire partir des ingéniéurs et des officiers, a plus forte raison des artilleurs. Si vous approuvés cette utile précaution, ce sera mon affaïre encore de débaucher Secrettement les meilleurs Sujets. Surtout dans les officiers de fortune qui ne pouvant esperer d'avancement que pour leur mérite, ont plus travaillé que les autres a en acquérir. Une des circonstances les plus importantes a nos Succès sera que les hommes, les armes, les munitions, et les marchandises une fois arrivés dans les ports, y trouvent des vaisseaux tous prèts a les embarquer—car c'est de la que part tout le bruit que les expéditions Secrettes font trop souvent. c'est la que l'Ennemi tient Ses Espions ; et tout l'art de votre conduite est que chaque object Soit déja loin de nos côtes, lorsque l'avis en arrivera, et que l'oreille de nos ministres poura en etre frappée. ce quï ne poura Se faire le jour Sans indiscretion, Se fera la nuit. ce n'est pas ici le cas de l'Economie, et nul ne sait mieux que moi que dans les choses difficiles, on ne peut suppléer au défaut de puissance et d'autorité, qu'a force d'argent. Repondés moi des navires américains, Je vous réponds des Secours Européans,

et rien ne sortera de france pour le Service de nos amis (pardon Si J'en parle avec cette liberté) quil ne Soit eprouvé et prouvé de la méilleure qualité.

J'ai l'honneur d'etre Sans nul compliment, avec l'estime et l'attachement que vous m'avés inspirés—Monsieur Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur,

CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

Addressed: Monsieur Deane, Hotel du grand Villars, Rue St. Guillaume a Paris.

Thomas Mss.

TRANSLATION.

Paris, 26 July, 1776.

Expressions of gratitude on your part and in behalf of your country will be in order, Sir, when the service has been rendered. To be regarded as a true friend of the brave defenders of your liberties will be to me the most touching of all. As to advances in money—equity alone can estimate them at their true value after your testimony that you will yourself render to your constituents of the activity, ardor, and resources that we have employed to overcome obstacles. Do not try to find cannon or other arms. You are too recent an arrival in this country to succeed in obtaining any of these things, and only in the arsenals of the King is there hope of finding them of the excellent quality that you require. Possibly out of the surplus, not needed for the service, I can buy the whole or a part of what you want, but I cannot do so without extreme caution and by absolutely suppressing their destination, the use for which they are intended, and even the name of the buyer. Several people are already working for me to secretly obtain the necessary orders, and no trouble, labor or money spent among the officials will deter me from thoroughly acquainting myself with the quality and the number of pieces of artillery and other arms that we may purchase.

Have no anxiety. I do not however think it possible—supposing that I meet your demand—that so large a train of artillery as you desire can leave this country without a chief and for that matter without officers ; for among a nation as peaceful as the Americans have been, all knowledge of tactics must be unknown and the proper management of a train of artillery is the most difficult branch of tactics.

You ought not therefore to hesitate in adopting M^r^ Arthur Lee's former plan which I mentioned to you, of sending engineers and officers—particularly, it would seem, officers of artillery. If you approve of the plan it shall be my duty to secrectly tempt the best ones of their class—especially soldiers of Fortune, who cannot hope for advancement unless they merit it, and consequently will work harder to deserve it.

One of the considerations the most important to our success, will be to have ships ready to embark the men, arms, munitions, and goods on their arrival at the ports, for, too frequently, all rumors of secret expeditions come from the place of embarkation. It is there that our enemies have their spies, and all the success of our arrangements depends upon getting everything well out at sea before information comes to the ears of the Ministry. What cannot safely be done in the day time must be done at night. Here there should be no effort at economy, and I know from experience that in delicate matters the want of power and authority can be supplied only by money.

If you will answer for the American ships, I will answer for the aid from Europe, and nothing shall go from France for the service of our friends (you will pardon my liberty in using the word) that is not known and proved to be of the best quality.

Without empty compliments, but with the real esteem and attachment which you have inspired, I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

To Caron De Beaumarchais.

Paris, 27th July, 1776.

Sir,—I received yours of yesterday morning & have given its Contents that attention which so important a subject calls for, & on the whole I find no other method which appears probable but that proposed by you. I see the advantages to be such that I have ventured to give up the objections which I had at first and should still have under any other Circumstances than the present. Your opinion has great weight with me on the Subject, & your knowledge of men and their Connections is so extensive & just that I must depend on you for the Choice of proper Persons and such whose Talents may be of Service in America and whose Connections here may help to facilitate effectually our operations. I hope that by the time the Stores & Goods shall be transported to the Ports, some American Vessels will be arrived on which they may be embarked, but as I cannot expect there will be a sufficient number I shall write to my Correspondents to see if I can procure the Vessels wanted; possibly I may engage some of them of my Friends here. Dr. Bancroft setts out this Day for London; if you have any Commands he will gladly receive them.

I have the honor to be, &c.

S. Deane.

Mr. Beaumarchais.

Thomas Mss.

To Messrs. Delap.

Paris, July 29th, 1776.

Dr Sir,—Yrs of the 23d is before me, & I am unable to express how much I feel myself obliged to you for the kind Concern you take in my Welfare; before this you will have received mine of the 19th & 23d, wh will in some measure acct for my omission of writing earlier, tho' do not think myself wholly inexcusable. Lettrs will

be forwarded this Day for Port L'Orient for the Salt Petre & Sulphur mentioned in mine of the 23d, & I expect by next Wednesday to send forward the Dispatches for Ct Morgan. The Brige you mention is that in which I took my first passage and returned; hope her Cargo will come to a good market as no more American Flour is to be admitted in Portugal. I wish to know what success you meet with as to Cloths at Carcasson, if with none I will endeavor purchasing them at Nantz where I am told they may be had, & I have already seen the Samples. My receiving no Intelligence of any kind from America embarasses me much & I hardly know which is most for the Interest of my Constituents, my tarrying here longer or leaving it immediately; may be resolved before my next. The American Privateers have had great success against the Jamaica Shipps, & Transports, & the Current report is that General Howe is defeated & slain. News of an important action may be hourly expected, as the Ministerial Army & Fleet left Hallifax for New York on the 8th or 10th of June. I am with Compliments to Miss Delap

Dear Sir Yours most sincerely

S. Deane.

P. S. I have got the Salt petre down to ten sous the B. & the Credit to Eight M°.

To Messrs. Saml & J. H. Delap, Merchts Bordeaux.

Thomas Mss.

To Messrs. Delap.

Paris, July 30th, 1776.

Dr Sir,—I wrote the 19th, 23d & 29th, severally and hope they duly came to hand. If difficulty or expence appear too enormous in making Capt. Morgan a F. Bottm let him Charter her to a Frenchman in Bx for New Orls or the Hav. as I choose to pass the Salt petre

off as going that way—give Capt^t. M. his orders in this Frenchman's name with Liberty, as he is a Bermudian, of touch'g there for the purpose of visiting his Friends, & the better to carry out the app^s in the orders. Charge him not to go out of his way to call there unless the winds should be favorable; you will know without my mentioning partic^s in a Lett^r how to give him Lett^s & every necessary to give the appearence of a reality. I order him to Bermuda first as there he may meet intelligence to direct his further proceedings. But after all should the Salt petre not arrive by the 12^th of August or should such Difficulties arise as to occasion your sending to me for obtaining any permission for the Shipping which may occasion a still further Delay, in such Case let him sail instantly in Ball^st and endeavor to make a harbor somewhere on the Continent of A. in the best manner he can, so as to Deliv^r the packet sent him which is my prin^l object, but as Lett^r went last Monday for the S. P. & S^t. have no doubt of its being in season; desire you will write M^r. Morriss the state nearly of the C^o. Remittances directed to your Care. I have not, except when in Sleep, or Company call'd that I could not be denied to, had my pen out of my hand for these three Days; you must therefore forgive inaccuracy, & finding out what I mean your Judgment will direct the Execution in a better way than I can point out. Sh^d the S. P. not arrive in season can you Chart a small sloop with you to carry it to A. under F. Colors? sh^d it arrive & you judge it best not to shipp the whole in him, will it not do to shipp the Remainder in Hutchinsons Sloop as Ballast for her, or if no Woolens such as are directed by Mess^rs. L. L. & A. of New York can be had at Bordeaux may he not load intirely with it if Cap^t. M. sh^d leave the whole? As the season is so far advanced I am of opinion that Goods shipp'd ab^t y^e 20^th of Sept^r will stand the best Chance of avoiding the British Cruisers & may arrive in season for Winter Supplies. But still if the Blank^t, &c., can be had before, with no Delay to be made in shipp'g

them. I design to be at Dunkirk by the 20th of nt mo if possible & as I shall have no Vessel at my commd after dismissing Capt. M. must take up F. Bottoms for my Indn Goods—apropo's is M'Clures Brige Sold? many of the Indian Goods are now to manufacture & I have no prospect of Comp'g that Contract untill sometime in Octo', but will do one thing at a time, therefore, pray Capt. M. may be hastened away & yrs as to Hr if you have been [to] or heard from Carcason you will be the best Judge if he can be supplied at Bordeaux, if not why he must be ordered elsewhere.

A Warr between Spain & Portugal is hourly expected, & the Flames once kindled will undoubtedly find Combustibles enough in every part of Europe to feed the Conflagration.

I am &c.,

S. Deane.

I gave a Bill on you for 2,400 Livs. favr. Messrs Germang Gin. & Co.

Send by the sloop, to Care of Mr Morriss

2 Doz. Bott. Oil in 3 Cases, marked I. H. R. M. & S. D.
2 doz. do. Capers in 3 do. do. do. do.
2 doz. do. Olives in 3 do. do. do. do.
3 Gross do. Claret in 3 p. b. marked do. do. do.

I thank you among other things for your Claret, tho' Benson swore it occasioned our break'g the Voiture. We drank plentifully on ye Road, pd Duty for 2 doz. and smuggled in 2 doz. more, which was brave doings, but you know Am[ericans], will smuggle.

Since writing the above, yrs of the 27th came to hand —the increase of Stock is an agreeable Circumstance. But am surprized that a Vessel shd leave N. London on the 3d inst & bring no News; pray unriddle this. You say she arrived yesterday in 24 Days; there is no mystery in this, but how is [it] she brings no Intelli-

gence of any kind. As matters are going I had rather much that the Vessel should be blocked up at Philadelphia than taken. I can carry on my Designs for a Time without them, & my Dr Friend I hope yet all will be well. I have agreed to advance Capt M. & his Mate, if they chuse, the one 30£, the other 15£, they giving security to acct with the Congress for repair in Phila, this for their End.

To Messrs. Delaps.

Thomas Mss.

To Robert Morris.

Paris, July 30th, 1776.

Dear Sir, — My other Letters will inform you of my situation; this is only to desire that the Casks of Salt petre & Sulphur marked S. D. may be Dd Mr Barnabas Deane or his order. The Claret & small Cases marked I. H. to the honorable and worthy President Hancock, with my most respectful Complimts to him & Lady. That mark'd R. M. you will dispose of, & those marked S. D. I hope may reach my little deserted Family. My Compliments to Mrs Morriss, to Docr Franklin, Col. Harrison & the rest of the Secret Committee, & others, my particular Friends in Phila & elsewhere. I have wrote a Quire on Business, but the anxiety & distress of mind I hourly feel for my Country and dear Connections in it are inexpressible.

God Bless them all—adieu

S. Deane.

To Robt Morriss, Esqr, at Philadelphia.

Thomas Mss.

From The Secret Committee of Congress.

Philadelphia, August 7, 1776.

Dear Sir,—The above is a copy of our last [of July 8], which went by the Despatch, Captain Parker.

The Congress have since taken into consideration the heads of a treaty to be proposed to France; but as they are not yet concluded upon, we cannot say more of them by this conveyance.

You will see by the newspapers which accompany this, that the expedition against South-Carolina is foiled by the gallant resistance made there. The enemy, much diminished by sickness, it is thought, will attempt nothing further in those parts. The people of North-Carolina, who at first had taken up their bridges and broken the roads to prevent the enemy from penetrating their country, have since, being ready to receive him, repaired the roads and bridges, and wish him to attempt making use of them.

General Howe is posted now on Staten-Island, near New-York, with the troops he carried to Halifax when he was driven out of Boston. Lord Howe is also arrived there with some regiments, and more are expected, as the great push seems intended to be made in that Province. General Washington's Army is in possession of the town, about which many intrenchments are thrown up, so as to give an opportunity of disputing the possession with Howe, if he should attempt it, and of making it cost him something, but it is not so regularly fortified as to stand a siege. We have also a Flying-Camp in the Jerseys to harass the enemy if he should attempt to penetrate through that Province to Philadelphia. In the different Colonies we have now near eighty thousand men in the pay of Congress.

The Declaration of Independence meets with universal approbation, and the people everywhere seem more animated by it in defence of their country.

Most of our frigates are launched in the different Provinces, and are fitting for sea with all the expedition in our power. They are fine ships, and will be capable of good service. Our small privateers and Continental armed vessels have already had great success, as the papers will show you; and by abstaining

from trade ourselves, while we distress that of our enemies, we expect to make their men-of-war weary of their unprofitable and hopeless cruises, and their merchants sick of a contest in which so much is risked and nothing gained. The forming a Navy is a capital object with us, and the Marine Committee is ordered to bring in a plan for increasing it very considerably.

The armed boats for the defence of our rivers and bays grow more and more in repute; they venture to attack large men-of-war, and are very troublesome to them. The papers will give you several instances of their success.

We hope by this time you are in Paris, and that Mr. Morris has joined you, whom we recommend to you warmly, and desire you may mutually co-operate in the publick service.

With great esteem, we are, &c.,

To Silas Deane.

Force's American Archives, 5th Series, I., 809.

From Robert Morris.

Philadelphia, Aug^{t} 11th, 1776.

M^{R}. Silas Deane,

Sir,—I have been so exceedingly harrassed with publick business of various kinds that it has not been in my power to be so good a Correspondent to you as I always intended, but as you know my situation you'll make allowances & excuse it. I am much concerned that we have been so unfortunate in our remittances to you: one ship whose Cargo cost £6,000 Currency & upwards has been taken some time since,—this Cargo was intended for Cadiz to address of Mess^{rs}. Duff & Welsh with orders to hold the N^{t} proceeds at your disposal but as they will never receive it, you need not write them on the subject; since that a Brig^{t} Charming

Polly (first Cap^{t}. Mc Faddon) Cap^{t}. Lacey has been taken on this Coast with a Cargo of near £3,000 Curr'y that was bound for Bourdeaux Consigned to Mess^{rs}. Delaps with orders to account with you for the N^{t} proceeds; besides these Gen^{l} Washington has unloaded two or three Vessells, that were loaded on purpose to make Remittances to you and their voyages by this means are broke up; other Cargoes are and necessarily have been detained by the Men of War on our Coast and in our Bays, &c., hitherto. You will think yourself unlucky in these untoward Circumstances and you have really been so, but this must not dispirit us, for you may depend on it I will persevere in making you the necessary remittance with all possible Expedition and you will in the End be fully convinced of my attention to you.

By this Conveyance I remit to Mess^{rs}. Sam^{l} & J. H. Delap bills amount'g to £2000. 0. 9 Sterling with orders to hold the same at your disposal, this amo^{t} being towards the Indian Contract and you will apply it accordingly; by other Conveyances I shall remit more bills as fast as I can get them; in the mean time I hope you will appear in such a respectable Character as to be able to obtain all the Indian Goods on Credit untill the remittances get safe to hand; these Goods will be exceedingly wanted, and I sincerely wish you may not have lost one Moment in obtaining & sending them out. I have lately rec^{d} a letter from my Brother Tom, dated at Marseilles, the 8th June, giving much useful & important Intelligence; by that letter I find he will meet you in France and I flatter myself he will prove a valuable & useful acquisition to you, as you'll find him Master of the Language, tractable, capable & quick of apprehension; he has been a wild youth heretofore, but if he is now sensible of former follies he may be the more Valuable Man for it. I beg leave to recommend him to your Friendship & Patronage; keep him with you advise him for his own sake to attend most constantly & steadily to the Transactions you have in hand, as I

shall procure him proper Appointment provided that he shews himself capable of serving his Country ; of this you'll be able to judge and from you I shall expect impartial Accounts of his Conduct. I wish him to become a good Historian to understand the Politicks of most Countries in Europe, as they regard one another, as well as the particular Police of each Kingdom or State, in short it is my advice that instead of passing his time in pleasurable pursuits he shou'd make use of his present oppertunity & advantages to lay the Foundation of a Character that may become respectable & conspicuous in the World ; the present troubles will afford him Opportunities of applying all his Knowledge & Abilities be they more or less ; he possesses a good deal of Mercantile Knowledge and is acquainted personally and by Fame with many of the first Houses in Europe, therefore, it seems to me the present oppert'y of improving our Fortunes ought not to be lost, especially as the very means of doing it will contribute to the Service of our Country at the same time.

I have in a former letter told you the whole Continent wo[d] be in want of Woollen Goods the ensuing Winter and you may depend that sufficient quantities cannot be sent out in time. We have lately got in a most noble Crop of Flax and all that understand Cleaning & Manufacturing it are employed ; this will furnish large quantities of coarse linens, but linens of about 2/ to 3/ st'g pr. yard, good Sheetings, Table linens, Raven or other Duck fit for Tents, Sail Cloth of all Sorts. Cambriks, Lawns, Muslins, &c , will all continue to be much wanted. All sorts of Cutlery Ware, Copper, Tin, Lead and every kind of Goods fit for Winter Wear must bring any price. I therefore propose that Tom & you should try your & our Credit jointly & propose to some of the most wealthy Houses in France to ship out quantities of suitable Goods to Martinico & Cape Francois to be reshipped from thence hither ; I don't care how much Value you send, the more the better, especially if you can get Insurance made on the

Value from the West Indies here against all risques; we will employ good Vessels in transporting them hither, and it will very often be in our power to obtain Convoy as our Frigates will frequently be Cruizing in the West-Indies. I wou'd propose that you shou'd immediately send off as large a Value as you can in Winter Goods and an assortment every Month afterwards suitable for the Season at which they may be expected to arrive. These Goods may if you please come out $\frac{2}{3}^{ds}$ on Account of Willing, Morris & C°., and $\frac{1}{3}^{d}$ on your Acc^{t}; you must fix with those that ship them the length of Credit and the Interest to be paid for their advances as well as their Com^{s}, &c. You'll observe that British Manufactures before the present troubles were shipped from England in the greatest abundance for 2½ pr C^{t} Com^{s} on 12 Months Credit after which 5 pr c^{t} Interest to commence if payments were not then made. I am very sensible that we cannot expect that Confidence now from French & other foreign Merchants that we formerly enjoyed with the Merchants in England, but I know that all Trading people do & must run risques and that they are content to do so when paid an Equivalent; now when it is so considered that from our late Non Export^{n} Agreement and from other Interruptions to Commerce it is not possible we can recruit bills previously or have proper Funds in Europe it will not be thought strange that under such circumstances we sho^{d} seek Credits, and if our Cause is Crowned with Success (w^{h} I think must be the case sooner or later) there is little danger of trusting us or indeed none at all, and that on the contrary, if we sho^{d} be unsuccessfull the Goods may be stopped in the West Indies, for you may be sure we will not order them from thence unless we see perfect Security in so doing. I say when these things are attended to not half the danger will appear, as may at first be imagined. Now if the Goods arrive safe they will sell instantly for ready Money at very high prices, & wo^{d} immed'y Invest the Money in the purchase of Tob°, Indigo, Flour, Wheat,

& such other Produce as may suit the French Market. If Insurance can be made on these Products against all risques the remittances will thereby be rendered certain, & the payment for the Goods speedy. I hope, therefore, you will exert yourselves to the utmost to effect this plan, and if any French or Dutch House chuse to join you in it, they may be ⅓d, you ⅓ & we ⅓, or in any other proportion you like better. At Martinico William Bingham, Esqr., & Mr. Richard Harrison will receive & forward the Goods at Cape Francois to Mr. Stephen Ceronio, or, in his absence, Mr. John Gaignard. Tom knows Ceronio and indeed so do you; he is capable & faithful to the last degree; but if any better method occurs to you do therein as you judge best; if any Character is wanted of our House Tom knows where to apply for it. You may depend that the pursuit of this plan deserves your utmost Exertion & attention so far as your mind is engaged in making of money, for there never has been so fair an oppert'y of making a large Fortune since I have been conversant in the World, and you may assure yourself & all concerned in this matter that I will manage whatever comes here to the utmost advantage and make the most immediate Returns for the Value, therefore I hope you execute something considerable without Delay.

I am sorry to tell you that Colo. Harrison is now left out of Congress and set off for Virginia yesterday. Mr. Dickenson is also out, and at present none of the Committee here but Dr. Franklyn & myself; we must move for an addition to this Committee, as Mr. Jay stays at New York and Mr. Johnson in Maryland; there are many Changes in Congress since you left us, some for the better, some for the worse.

Our Frigates are really fine ships, and the Marine Committee have it in charge to report Ways & Means for increasing it, and this can be done with great facility & dispatch, so that you may expect those States to become very formidable on the Seas this next Summer or sooner; however I must refer you to the publick

papers for News, as I have sent a good many to Messrs. Delap & wrote to John Bradford, Esqr., at Boston, to send more from thence; they will deliver or forward them to you, and with sincere Esteem I remain

Dear Sir

Your Affectionate Friend
& hble Servant

ROBERT MORRIS.

Thomas Mss.

NARRATIVE OF EDWARD BANCROFT.

About the Commencement of the present year a considerable Majority of the American Congress, hearing that very powerfull Armaments were preparing to be sent against them, and concluding that a total Separation from Great Britain would be the only Alternative to their Acceptance of Terms, such as they had determined to reject, began seriously to meditate upon Foreign Alliances & a Publick Declaration of Independency. Some Members of the Congress, however, flattered themselves with a Hope that the Commissioners who were announced in the King's speech might be authorized to offer Terms capable of effecting a Reconciliation, & others who had no Hope of this kind, were yet unwilling that their Opponents should have the Opportunity of alledging that any Precipitancy in the measures of Congress had precluded the offer of reasonable Terms from Government. Even the warmest Advocates of Independency thought a Declaration of it should not be made until it could be done with Unanimity; And all concurred in the opinion that considering the Importance of such a Declaration, it ought to be first called for by a Majority of the Assemblies, Conventions, & People of the associated Colonies. By these Reasons and Motives, a Publick Declaration of Independency was suspended, & with it the projected Foreign Alliances. It was, however, thought expedient to prepare a way for the latter, by

sending a Deputy to the Court of France (on which the Congress principally depended,) to make such Representations as were suited to induce that Court to a favorable Disposition, & also to ask from it supplies of Arms & Cloathing for 25,000 Troops, with 200 Brass Field Pieces, & a Quantity of Ammunition. A Secret Committee for Foreign Negociations was therefore appointed, consisting of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Dickenson, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Jay, & Mr. Robert Morris. Mr. Deane, one of the Connecticut Delegates, was appointed to this Deputation, & his Instructions were drawn up by Dr. Franklin, & subscribed by each member of the Committee, without being communicated to the Congress at Large. The Spanish, Prussian, & other Courts were, at the same Time, thought of as Objects of future Applications. A Committee of Commerce had before been appointed, & this Committee commissioned Mr. Deane to purchase in France Goods for Presents to the Indians to the Amount of £40,000 Sterling, that is to say about the Worth of £13,000 for each of the three Indian Departments instituted by the Congress. The Money for executing this Commission was advanced & employed in purchasing Bills of Exchange, & such American Commodities as were proper to be shipped to the Ports of France, Spain, & Portugal.

Mr. Deane having received his Instructions, and a proper Letter of Credence, or Certificate of his Appointment, sailed from Philadelphia towards the last of March, but the Vessel receiving some Damage, he was obliged to put back to the same Port, from whence he sailed again pretty early in April (with an Escort of Rifle Men out of the River) for Bermuda, where he purchased a very swift sailing Sloop of that Island, & arrived in it, at Bourdeaux, early in the Month of June. At this Place, he was detained for some Time in forming Commercial Connections, to facilitate the Sale of such Commodities as were arrived & expected to arrive for his use. And from thence he wrote about

the 10th of June, desiring Dr. B. to meet him in Paris, agreeable to an Article in his Instructions. Dr. B. was however at that Time ill, & did not therefore leave London until the 3d. of July; and on the 6th both he & Mr. Deane arrived at Paris, but Dr. B.'s Indisposition, which had suddenly returned, prevented their meeting each other until the 8th, when Dr. B. was shewn Mr. Deane's Letter of Credence & Instructions, & consulted upon the steps to be taken conformably to them. On the 10th following Mr. Deane had a long Interview of more than Three Hours with the Count de Vergennes, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, at which he communicated his Letter of Credence, & acquainted the Count that the Congress, expecting a publick Declaration of Independency would soon become expedient, had determined, among all the Powers of Europe, first to sollicit the Friendship & Alliance of France, & had charged him to represent this, their Determination, to his Lordship, & to enquire whither, if the united Colonies assumed to be independent States, the French Court would recognize them as such, accept their Alliance, and protect their Trade. Count de Vergennes, in Answer, expressed a pleasing Sense of the Distinction shewn to France by the Congress in making it the Object of their first Foreign Application, & assured him of the strongest Disposition in the French Ministry to favor the United Colonies in every reasonable way. He said that an open Acknowledgement of the Independency of the Colonies, & the Protection of their Trade would necessarily engage France in a War with Great Britain; That he could not, therefore, undertake to answer a Question involving with it such important Consequences, without the Approbation of the King & his other Ministers, & that a Question of this Nature could not properly be proposed to them untill the Colonies should have assumed to be independent, & have the proposed Terms of some Alliance commercial, offensive or defensive. But he added, as his own private Opinion,

that if the Colonies were finally determined to reject the Sovereignty of His Britannick Majesty, it would not be the Interest of France to see them reduced by Force; said that he considered their Cause as deserving the Support of every Friend to Justice, & assured Mr. Deane that they might be certain of them having "the unanimous good Wishes of the Government & People of France." During the Conversation, Count de Vergennes was very inquisitive respecting the State of Things in the Colonies, & express'd great Satisfaction at everything which rendered it probable that they would be able this year to resist the Arms of Great Britain. He appear'd very sollicitous to conceal the Intercourse began with Mr. Deane, from the knowledge of the British Government, Expressed Apprehensions that Lord Stormont might receive Information of Mr. Deane's Visits to Versailles, & render them the Subject of troublesome Complaints; proposed that his Secretary, Mr. Gerarde, should be made the Vehicle of so much of their Correspondence as did not require a personal Interview between himself & Mr. Deane, & that when this happened, the Meeting might be at Mr. Gerarde's House in Versailles, as being more suited to Concealment. The Count also desired Mr. Deane to consider himself as under The King's immediate Protection, & in Case of any Insult or Molestation from any British Subject or otherwise, to complain directly to himself (the Count) and depend upon receiving the most satisfactory Redress. Upon the whole Mr. de Vergennes expressed so much Cordiality & Benevolence towards Mr. Deane, that He was highly pleased with his Reception, & considered it as strong Proof of a good Disposition in the Court of France towards the Colonies. Though Dr. B. always accompanied Mr. Deane to Versailles, he, from prudential Considerations, avoided being present at this or any other Interview with the Count de Vergennes. But Mr. Deane upon his Return, each Time, gave Dr. B. a minute, & as he is persuaded, a

faithfull Relation of every Part of their Conversation.

Some Time before Mr. Deane's Arrival in France, Mr. Pinette, one of the Two French Gentlemen who were in Philadelphia last Winter, & who obtained a Contract with the Committee of Congress for Trade, to supply them with a large Quantity of Goods, had returned to France by the Way of Hamburgh, & through the Assistance of Monsr. der Bourgh, a Physician in Paris, & a zealous Friend of Dr. Franklin, had made some Progress in procuring from the French Ministry 15,000 Stands of small Arms, which made a Part of his Contract; and the better to conceal this Proceeding, it was proposed that the French Court should make a pretended Sale of the Arms in Question to some Person who could be depended upon, & this latter Person was, as if without their knowledge, to sell them again to the Contractor of the Congress. Some little Difficulties had however arisen in the Course of this Transaction, but, upon Mr. Deane's Arrival & his Interference in it, in behalf of the Congress, they were all immediately removed, & 13,000 of the Arms actually sent to Nantz immediately after; and News of their being arrived at that Place was received before Dr. B. left Paris.

For several Days after Mr. Deane's Interview wit the Count de Vergennes, an Intercourse was maintained between them through the Medium of Mr. Gerarde & of Mr. Dubourg (the latter of whom had engaged in the Business of the Colonies, with the most extravagant zeal) & several Letters from the Count respecting the Colonies were received.

About the 16th of July, Mr. Deane communicated to Count de Vergennes, through the Secretary Mr. Gerarde, a Memorial stating (& perhaps magnifying) the Advantages, Commercial & Political, which might be derived to France by a Separation of the Colonies from Great Britain, with many Facts and Arguments calculated to remove any Apprehensions which the

Court of France might possibly entertain, of Danger from the Independency of the Colonies, & to dispose that Court to favor & assist them.

On the 19th of July Mr. Deane acquainted Count de Vergennes that he wished for an Opportunity of seeing & laying before him certain Parts of his Instructions, and accordingly the Count appointed an Interview at Versailles, the next Morning at Eleven o'Clock; at which Time Mr. Deane shewed & gave him, Extracts from these Articles of his Instructions, which directed him to ask from the French Ministry, in behalf of the Congress, Arms & Cloathing for 25,000 Men, together with 200 light Brass Field Cannon, which the Congress engaged either to pay for or replace, at a future distant Period. The Arms (making in Addition to the first mentioned Supply, 40,000 Stand) were immediately promised by M. de Vergennes; of Cloathing, it was alledged that so much was not ready belonging to the Government, But Mr. Deane was given to understand that Persons should be found who would furnish it on the Credit of the Congress; and accordingly Mr. de Chaumont, a gentleman of great Property, who lives at Passy, & is connected with Government, (& who had been mentioned by the Count to Mr. Deane), called on Mr. Deane, shortly after (at the Hotel du Grand Villars) & brought in his Carriage Samples of the different Uniforms &c. of the French Troops with an Account of the Prices paid for each by Government, & voluntarily offered to become Mr. Deane's Security, to the Government Contractors, or any other Persons, for one Million of Livres for the Purchase of Cloathing &c.

Respecting the Brass Cannon, it was alledged that all those belonging to the King were stamped with the Arms of France, a Circumstance which, if they should be taken in their Way to America would discover that they had been furnished to the Colonies by the French Court. Mr. de Vergennes proposed, however, to enquire whether these Arms could not be erased with-

out weakening the Cannon too much, and if not, he proposed that others should be cast in some of the King's Founderies to supply the Wants of the Colonies; And, in the mean Time Mr. Dubourg was commissioned by Mr. de Vergennes to look out for a suitable Foundery; Which he did, & fixed on that of Angolime; But upon Enquiry it was found to be employed in Casting Guns for the Navy. Count de Vergennes, however, promised to apply to Mr. Sartine on this Subject, and if it should be necessary, to procure either that or some other Foundery for the Purpose.

Mr. de Vergennes had some Days before this recommended (by Letter) a Mr. Beaumarchais to Mr. Deane, as one who would with great Secrecy, & on the best Terms supply the Congress with such other Goods & Commodities as they might want, and Mr. Beaumarchais offered to credit them with Merchandise, &c., to the Amount of Three Millions of Livres. But being known as a Man of more Genius, than Property, Mr. Deane for this and other Reasons objected against this Recommendation from Count de Vergennes; But the Count and his Secretary assured Mr. Deane that Beaumarchais would be properly supported & enabled to fulfill his Engagements, on the most advantageous Terms to the Congress, & Mr. Deane therefore proposed to obtain from him a Quantity of Ammunition and other Articles wanted by the Colonies.

Dr. B. left Paris to return to London on the 26th of July. Mr. Deane was then fully persuaded from his Intercourse with Count de Vergennes & others, that the French Ministry were in the best Disposition towards the Colonies, & that upon receiving suitable Powers from the Congress, which he then daily expected, an Alliance between the Crown of France and the United Colonies might be soon concluded; And this he had determined to signify to the Congress in Letters which he was then preparing to Dispatch

from Bourdeaux in the Sloop which had conveyed him thither, & in which he proposed sending back Fifty Tons of Salt Petre, Mr. Chaumont having before purchased it for Mr. Deane at Port L'Orient, & ordered it to be sent to Bourdeaux for that Purpose.

It must not be omitted that Count de Vergennes, after having seen the Memoire which Mr. Deane had prepared, expressed the fullest Approbation of the Reasonings & Arguments contained in it.

[August 14th, 1776.]

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 890.

Memoir on the Commerce of America, and its Importance to Europe.

Submitted to the French Court by Silas Deane.

August 15, 1776.

The Commerce between the United States of North America and Great Brittain, in consequence of the measures pursued by the latter, is now intirely prohibited and broken off without a probability, and almost without a possibility of being ever restored. If the Nature, and extent, of the North American Trade, hitherto monopolized by Great Brittain, be considered, it will appear, that this very commerce which they are now exerting their whole Force, & compassing Sea and Land to destroy, has been the principal Basis, on which the prodigious wealth, and power, of that Kingdom has rose in the present Century.

Leaving that infatuated Nation to pursue measures which nothing but the most mad & insatiable Lust for power & domination could have suggested, let the inquiry be made, of what articles this Commerce has consisted, and what the annual Amount in exports from, and & imports to, the united Colonies; which being stated, from indisputable facts, it will at once be evident, how farr it is to the Interest of any of the

Commercial Nations in Europe, to avail themselves of the advantages of this increasing branch of Commerce, by opening their ports to the United Colonies, and protecting their Vessels in coming to and going from them.

To begin with the exports from the United Colonies, to Europe, Africa, and the West Indies, they consist of the following Articles (viz): Fish, Oil, Whalebone, Spermaceti in the rough, refined, and in Candles, Furs, and peltry of every kind, Shipps ready built, Masts, Sparrs, Timber, & planks of various sorts, pot & pearl Ashes, Flaxseed, Beef, Pork, Butter, & Cheese, Horses, Oxen, & smaller live stock of various kinds to the West Indies, Wheat, Flour, Bread, Rye, Indian Corn, Lumber such as Staves and Hoops of every kind, Tobacco, Iron, Pitch, Turpentine, Beeswax, Rice, Indigo, American made Rum, with many lesser Articles, to the Usual Amount of about Four million Sterling of English Money or Ninety million of Livres. Here it is proper to make Some Observations, before the importations of the United Colonies, or the Articles they receive in payment, from the different Countries which they send the above, be considered: in the first place, that in the above list, there are no Articles (unless Shipps ready built for sale, and American Rum are exceptions) but what are materials absolutely necessary for the support of various manufactures and of the People in the Countries to which they are respectively carried; in the next place, That this large exportation of the real necessaries of Life and simple materials, which has ultimately centered in Great Brittain, & must always center in some part of Europe, is not the result of any accidental or transitory Circumstances, but has rose on the only sure & unfailing Basis of our Commerce, permanent and independant of external Contingencies, on the population & agriculture of an extensive and fruitful Country, commanding not merely one, but several climates the most salubrious. The rapidity of Population in that

Country, which is almost incredible (but having been ascertained beyond dispute), is the fullest demonstration of the Superior excellence of both the Soil & Climates—The Inhabitants, from their first Settlement, have (independent of emigrations from abroad) doubled their Numbers, in every period of Twenty years; this has been often mentioned and fully proved, & I repeat it Now, to introduce another Fact, important to Our present purpose, and well deserving the Attention of the Commercial part of Europe, it is this: that their exportations of the productions of that Country has been nearly in the same ratio with their population, for example, their exportations in 1700, or the beginning of this Century, did not amount to Five Hundred Thousand, or half a million; nay, it fell very greatly below that Sum in 1770, or in the age of Man it exceeded Four Millions so that the American planters, who from the early Age at which their children marry, have generally the pleasure of Seeing in their Life time their descendants doubling their numbers in the third and fourth generations, have also the solid satisfaction of finding the produce of the World they were peopling increase in equal degree. The man who made the experiment of putting one handful of rice into the Ground, in S. Carolina, to see if the soil would produce it, lived to see more than one hundred sail of Shipps annually loaded from Carolina with this Article. Before the last Warr, or only Twenty years since, the exportations of Wheat & Flour from the United Colonies was inconsiderable; in the second, or third year of that warr, or in 1756 or 1757, Flour was so dear, consequently scarce, that the Commissaries for supplying the British Army in America imported a Quantity from Great Brittain into New York & the other middle Colonies; for several years before the interruption of the Commerce of the United Colonies the exportation of Flour from the port of Philadelphia only, averaged at 286,741 Barrells of flour annually, besides

274,248 Bushels of Grain, unmanufactured, which is equall nearly to Four Hundred Thousand Barrells of Flour; the City of New York has exported near as large a Quantity, in the same years, indeed they give out at Times that their exportations are equall,—the writer of this Memoir has not an exact Account of the exportations from New York, but from a full acquaintance in both Cities, it is his opinion, the first exceeds in the exportation of this Article and that the latter has the advantage in several other, which it is unnecessary to enumerate, the above instances being given to shew the rapid increase of the exportation of the necessaries of Life from that Country, and individual points been mentioned to convince that the writer grounds his Assertions on Facts to him known and well Ascertained.

To look forward and calculate the coming Century, by the past, tho' it will not exceed the power of Numbers, yet it may the bounds of the most sanguine credulity; Tho' were it necessary, it might be shewn, that that those who please themselves with the Calculation, and enjoy in the prospect, of an unparalleled increase of the human Species, & of human felicity, in the New World, are not the most idle of Visionaries, but have many very forcible Facts and Arguments, to render such an Event highly probable, yet everything on this Subject is wide of the present inquiry, which turns in the next place, on the payments which the Colonies receive for this large annual Amount of Four Millions exported. It is generally ruinous, for one Country to pay its Silver and Gold for the manufactures of another, but it is consistent with the highest Commercial policy, to export Specie in exchange for Necessary Materials for Manufactures, when those materials are not to be procured or raised, within the manufacturing Country, or when they can be purchased only with Silver and Gold. This, however, has not been the Case here; the United Colonies have received ultimately, nothing but the manufactures of Europe for this

exportation of theirs, Four fifth parts of which have been the immediate Fabricks of Great Brittain, which Kingdom, compleatly to monopolize the large and growing Commerce of the United Colonies, prohibited under severe duties and penalties, the Inhabitants of the latter, to receive any of the Manufactures of Europe, but through their hands, & consequently at their price; and still further, has forbad them to export the more Capital Articles of the produce of their Labor directly to the other Nations in Europe, though such produce was not wanted in Great Brittain, either for consumption, or manufacture, but only passed through their hands, to their Neighbors, at an advanced price; for example, the large Quantity of tobacco consumed in France, is the production of Virginia, and Maryland, which Colonies would gladly receive in exchange the productions & manufactures of this Kingdom of France, but as is well known, are absolutely prevented by the intervention of Great Brittain, which engrosses this Article, and then makes her own Terms of price and payments.

Other Articles, such as Rice, Indigo, &c., might be mentioned, were it necessary, but in one Word the exports of the United Colonies, which have from the beginning of this Century, increased from under half a Million, to the annual Sum of Four Millions, have been monopolized by Great Brittain, and paid for by such Articles in return as were the immediate produce of her manufactories or such as tended to enlarge & promote her Commerce. Not content with the exercise of this absolute controll over their Commerce, more extraordinary claims were made and violent measures taken to enforce them. The Consequence is well known to all Europe; all intercourse has ceased, and a final Separation taken place between the United Colonies and Great Brittain. The Question now is (if a Question can be made of it), Are the Nations in Europe, the Commercial ones in particular, interested in this Great Event? it is impossible, in the Nature of

Things, that the exportations from the United Colonies, should cease for ever, or totally, for any long Space of Time; and is not a Commerce of Four Millions annually in raw, or simple materials, paid for in Manufactures of the coarser, & cheaper kind, an Object worth attending to? it deserves observation that no Commerce known, in the world, besides this, affords an instance of an annual Exportation of Four Millions in Value, without an Article of Luxury in the whole that make up this prodigious sum except Tobacco be considered as a Luxury, on which, nothing more need be said, than that long habit has rendered it as indispensably necessary As Articles which in their nature may appear more so; & at any rate, it affords a most essential source of Revenue to the States in which it is used. The British revenue is said to be benefited, nearly four Hundred Thousand pounds Sterling Annually, besides the prodigious Sums of individual Merchants, who in Consequence of the Monopoly, have bought it from the Colonies & sold it into France, &c., at their own price. How deeply the revenue of France, or its individuals, may be interested in this Article, is best known to others. It is not improper to take Notice that it has been asserted by British Administration, that this Article may be produced in Great Brittain (They will assert anything to serve their turn), but a Nation, that with the higher exertions of Agriculture, scarcely raises its own Bread, can have no rich arable Lands to spare for tobacco, beside the Sun is not Warm enough, to bring this plant to perfection in England; but (every obstacle removed,) the raising this plant in England or any other Kingdom in Europe, must defeat the revenue arising from it in such Kingdom, as it could not be collected.

This being an Article of great importance to France, and to be procured at any tolerable rate, only from the United Colonies, it may not be improper to observe here, that now the Commerce in it may be fixed, on the most advantageous Terms, and by a direct impor-

tation from the Colonies, save in the Kingdom the prodigious Sums of money annually paid to England for it, by remitting the Manufactures of France, in payment to the Americans. Should this favourable Opportunity be suffered to pass unimproved, another such may probably never present itself, indeed it is scarce possible there ever can occur such another. The importance of improving the present for possessing this single branch of the Commerce of the United Colonies is very great, but to have a preference of the whole, is an offer which may not be ever made again.

Virginia and Maryland export One Hundred Thousand Hogsheads of this Article annually; of this, about twenty thousand are consumed in Great Brittain, & Ireland, & the remainder is sold to various Kingdoms in Europe, loaded with the Expences of Landing & reshipping, of one Freight extraordinary, & the Commissions or advance of the British Merchant, or Factor, all which might be saved. If the Colonies are not permitted to bring this Article directly to the Several Kingdoms in which it is consumed, the Consequence must be, either that they will quit the Cultivation of it, or give the preference to that State which will (& surely some one will) admit it. Commerce, which has in the present Age, so great & commanding an influence in Europe, was of little consequence in Comparison before the discovery of the East, and the West Indies, or America. Tho' the produce of the former has increased the Wealth and Luxury of the States trading there, yet it has done very little (possibly nothing) to increase National Strength, & happiness, whilst the other has been a Constant and increasing Source of both. A few large shipps bring home the Effects of a whole nation, from the East Indies, and those instead of adding to the Number of Seamen (the *sine qua non*, of all naval affairs), destroy or render useless almost the whole they have any employ for, in a single Voyage; on the other hand, the American Trade, or that of the Islands, & the United

Colonies, including the American Fisheries, employs already, a great proportion of the whole of the Navigation, and Seamen in Europe, and is not only capable of employing, but must in the course of Time, actually find employment, for a greater Number of Shipps and Seamen, than can be employed by the Commercial States of Europe, in any other, or in every other connection they can form. This may at first appear extravagant but it is an important Fact & so farr as is asserted, for the present Time, well known to all who have a general knowledge of Commerce, and every one attending to the Number of Shipps & Seamen, now employed in this Commerce. The rapid increase of their Number; a necessary Consequence of the increase of produce of the United Colonies & West India Islands and of the Demand therefor; with the probability of this demand, still increasing to an almost infinite Degree, and the capability of these Colonies & Islands to answer the utmost demand, any one who attends for a Moment to these, will readily Subscribe, to the probability at least, of what is asserted of the future extent of this Commerce. Every state in Europe, is at this hour, so fully sensible of the important Benefits resulting from maritime concerns, that nothing need be said to urge them to what they most certainly mean to pursue, as farr as their situation will permit them, but it deserves their serious attention, and enquiry, whither any other Commerce will so readily, so effectually, & at the same time with so much solid advantage, to their revenues, as well as to the individuals of the State, affect the great purpose of enlarging their Navigation, & of increasing both their internal and external Commerce, as this, which is the Subject of the present Memoire.

Persecuted, indeed, by Great Brittain in her madness for universal & absolute dominion in America, & consequently misrepresented and abused by the hireling writers, & advocates, of a corrupt administration,

the subject requires, it pleads, only an impartial and candid examination of the Facts asserted, & the writer of this Memoire, will be under no uneasiness on Acc[t] of the Judgement which will be given. To do full justice to the Subject would fill a Volume, but in a piece so fugitive as this it may be sufficient to observe generally: The fisheries on the American Coasts are great, they are inexhaustible. The production of necessary raw Materials for the use of the Manufactories & Commerce of Europe, as well as the essential ones of Bread & provisions for the support of Mankind, will in all probability increase for a Century to come, in nearly the same ratio as hitherto; and the aversion of the inhabitants of the United Colonies to the sedentary employments, joined with the charms found in the innocence & simplicity of Agriculture in a New Country will cooperate with other motives, to induce them to receive from abroad the Manufactures of others for the produce of their Country; it is impossible for any power to become eminent in Commerce, without excelling in Manufactures & Navigation. America is capable of supporting, and increasing both, by her supplies & Consumption; attended with this peculiar Circumstance, the United Colonies will never, let their increase of Population be ever so great, interfere with the Powers of Europe, either in their Manufactures or Commerce, nor from their Situation & Climate can they ever become Rivals with the Colonies of those Powers in America, in their staple produce, but, on the Contrary, they will (indulged with a Free Trade to the West India Islands) enable them to extend & enlarge the Cultivation of Sugar, Cotton, Coffee, & their other Articles, the demand for which yearly increases in Europe, to the greatest possible degree. The British West India Islands, Jamaica, & one or two of the late ceded Islands excepted, have long since been cultivated to the utmost height they will bear, & are visibly on the decline, whilst the large Island of Hispaniola, to mention no others, is capable

of supplying the increasing demand for these Articles in Europe for a coming Century, if supplied with the Materials wanted in such plantations, from the United Colonies, from whence alone the West Indies can be well, cheaply and with certainty Supplied; and it is evident those plantations will increase their produce and will sell it at a cheaper rate, in proportion to the certain & reasonable Terms on which they procure their Stock.

The consumption of Sugar, Coffee and many other Articles which are to be had only from the West Indies, has increased within a Century from almost nothing to a most enormous amount in Europe, yet the use of them is but just commencing in some of the largest Kingdoms.

The Consumption and demand for them must, therefore, increase in future to the highest conceivable degree in Europe, and the Kingdom which permits the use of them (& it may be impossible to exclude them), unless interested in the Commerce, will find a large Ballance annually against them in Cash, for purchasing them of those who are interested.

And the State which wisely improves the present Opportunity, so as to take a Commanding lead in these great Branches, particularly in that to the West Indies, will be able to command the market of Europe in a most extensive & lucrative Commerce, and find their Marine, or Navigation, rising superior to every thing near them.

A Principle has been adopted among the European Powers, owning Colonies in the West Indies, that for the employing, and consequently increasing their Navigation, no Articles should be received by their Islands from the Northern Colonies, but such only as it was not in their power to send them from Europe. This may, without Apology, be pronounced a most erroneous and dangerous principle, & is founded on partial and jealous views of this great & liberal Subject. Hence, for Example, Salt Provisions are imported from Ireland

into France, and reshipped, with extra Freights and Charges, to Martinico, &c, whilst the same Articles are to be had from the United Colonies cheaper, with greater certainty, and the payment for them made, not in Silver and Gold, but in Syrops or Melasses, & in such Articles as are of little demand, or absolutely of no use in Europe.

The same may be said of Flour, & several other Articles. But it will be replied: this finds freights for Our outward bound Shipps, which is of great Consequence. When one people can become the Carriers for another, such an Argument has weight; but when the Articles finally to be Returned, as the effects of this Commerce, are to be consumed within the Kingdom in part, and part disposed of to its neighbors, the prevailing object ought to be to import them at the cheapest rate possible, the only sure method of enlarging the Consumption of the Articles & of a Commerce in them, even to the excluding of other Kingdoms.

It has been said that a preference ought to be given to the Flour of France & other Kingdoms, tho' it come dearer to their Islands in the West Indies, as an encouragement to their Agriculture.

To be particular on this Subject would exceed the bounds of a Memoire, already become lengthy; a few well-known facts hinted at must suffice. England, France, Spain & Portugal have for several years received large Quantities of Flour & Wheat from the United Colonies, for their own consumption, yet agriculture in the two former Kingdoms has been carried to nearly as high a point as possible.

The consumption must, therefore, have increased, or the Cropps in these Kingdoms have began to fail, or become precarious and Uncertain, or the People must have found some more advantageous branch of Culture.

The Cropps of Grain, in the Colonies, are not from their Situation, Climates, & mode of Agriculture, lia-

ble to that uncertainty to which they are always more or less exposed in Europe, and being near the Islands can supply them expeditiously, & with Certainty. The present Scarcity, in all the West Indian Islands, is but one remove from a famine, & is a striking Evidence of what is here asserted, and hinted at.

Further, the Inhabitants of all old Countries have a propensity to a Manufacturing course of Life, and the Commercial States of Europe are laboring to encourage it, as the sure Basis of their Commerce, but the inhabitants of the United Colonies have a Contrary prejudice, and on these different dispositions, & different Situations of the People & their Countries may be formed the most lasting, extensive, and beneficial Commercial intercourse, & Connection that the world has ever seen.

The Different Kingdoms or States in Europe are naturally led to rival each other, but in the Natural Course of things, no Rivalship can possibly subsist between them & the United Colonies. The fear of saying too much has occasioned something worthy of Notice, to be passed by. And a sense of the importance of others, & the present Critical Situation of this Commerce, may have prompted the writer, to be too minute on others, but Conscious of the rectitude of his intentions & happy in a Confidence in the Abilities & Candor of those who may read this memoir, it is submitted without Apology.

August 15th 1776.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 577.

To the Secret Committee of Congress.

Paris, August 18, 1776.

I wrote you every material occurrence to the time of my leaving Bordeaux, and sent duplicates by Captains Palmer, Bunker, and Seaver, one of which you will undoubtedly have received before this comes to hand.

I left that city on the last of June, and arrived here on the Saturday following, having carefully attended to everything in the manufacturing or commercial towns in my way, which, indeed, are neither numerous nor of great consequence. I spent at Angouleme a day in viewing what, as to manufactures, alone deserves attention on the journey, the foundry for cannon, where the greatest part of those used in the Kingdom are manufactured. The cannon are cast solid, after which they are put as in a turner's lathe, and bored out, and the outside smoothed and turned at pleasure. They can bore and complete a twelve-pounder in one day in each lathe, which takes four men only to work. The workmen freely showed me every part of their furnace and foundry.

On Monday after my arrival I waited on my bankers, and found that Mr. Bancroft had arrived the same day with me, Mr. Thomas Morris and M. Venzonals about ten days before. I waited on M. Dubourg, and delivered him Dr. Franklin's letter, which gave the good gentleman the most sincere and real pleasure.

M. Penet, on his arrival in Paris, waited on M. Dubourg, showed him a copy of his contract with the Committee of Congress, and told him he had letters from Dr. Franklin to him, but had left them on the road, or at Rotterdam, through fear of a search. He told M. Dubourg, to whom he was a perfect stranger, so many particular circumstances that he could not doubt of his sincerity, and in consequence he embarked in his affairs to a large amount. Five or six weeks have now passed without the arrival of the letters said to be left on the road. Arms, powder, &c., to a large amount, were in readiness, when my arrival gave him confidence that I would take the burden off him, as he doubted not that my credentials would be explicit. I saw immediately the arrangement of the whole, and that M. Penet had returned to France (copy of the contract excepted) almost as emptyhanded as he came to Philadelphia, yet had found means to collect a very considerable

quantity of stores, part of which he had actually shipped. This circumstance gave me hopes; yet I found that it would now be expected I should become responsible for the articles, which embarassed me much, since to detain them would be quite disagreeable, and to step out of my own line and involve myself with Messrs. Plairne and Penet's contract would be equally so.

M. Penet had somehow got intelligence of my being in France, and that I was expected at Paris; he therefore waited for me, and I saw him the next day at my hotel, when he complained of want of remittances, and desired me to pledge my credit for the stores, which I waived in the best manner I could, for I saw the consequences might involve me in many difficulties, and frustrate my greater designs. I therefore told him I would certify to the merchants, if necessary, that the Congress would pay for whatever stores they would credit them with, and in the mean time advised him to proceed strictly agreeable to the letter of the contract, and I was positive that the Congress would fulfil their part of it. I finally satisfied both him and M. Dubourg, and he departed for Nantes, to ship the goods the next day. I must do him the justice that is his due: he has been indefatigable in the business, his heart seems to be entirely in it, and I believe him honest, but his connexions, either commercial or political, are not, of themselves, equal to such an undertaking, but the cause he was employed in had in a great measure, I found, supplied this deficiency, which was to me a favourable appearance.

M. Dubourg told me that the Ministers would not see me, as they meant to be quite secret in any countenance they gave the United Colonies, and that my arrival in France was already known in London, in consquence of which Lord Stormont arrived express but a few days before, and had applied to the Court on the subject. I showed him my commission, and told him I was determined to apply, for every circumstance, in my opinion, was favourable instead of

otherwise. On this, he wrote a letter to Count de Vergennes, asking liberty to introduce me the Thursday following; on which day I went to Versailles, and though the letter had not been delivered to his Excellency, yet he gave us immediate admission. Fortunately his chief Secretary spoke English well, by which means I had an opportunity of conversing freely with him on the subject of my commission for two hours, and was attentively and favourably heard by him, and was asked many questions, which shows that the American disputes had been, and still were, a principal object of attention. I pursued nearly the line marked out by my instructions, stating the importance of the American commerce, and the advantages Great Britain had received from a monopoly of it; that all intercourse ceasing between the two countries, the Colonies had considered where they might dispose of that produce which they necessarily had so large a surplus of, and receive for their raw or first materials the various manufactures they wanted; that they first turned their eyes on France, as the best country in Europe for them to be connected with in commerce; that I was purchasing a large quantity of manufactures for which I expected to pay the money, and that I should want a quantity of military stores, for which remittances would be made; that I doubted not the Colonies had before this declared Independency, and that I should soon receive instructions in consequence more full and explicit; that in the mean time they were very anxious to know how such a declaration would be received by the Powers in Europe, particularly by France, and whether in such case an Ambassador would be received from them, &c. To which he replied that the importance of the American commerce was well known, and that no country could so well supply the Colonies, and in return receive their produce as France; it was therefore the interest of both to have the most free and uninterrupted intercourse, for which reason the Court had ordered their ports to be kept open, and equally free

to America as to Britain; that, considering the good understanding between the two Courts of Versailles and London, they could not *openly* encourage the shipping of warlike stores, but no obstruction of any kind would be given; if there should, as the custom-houses were not fully in their secrets in this matter, such obstructions should be removed on the first application; that I must consider myself perfectly free to carry on any kind of commerce in the Kingdom which any subject of any other State in the world might, as the Court had resolved their ports should be equally free to both parties; that I was under his immediate protection, and should I meet with any difficulty, either from their police, with the rules of which he supposed me unacquainted, or from any other quarter, I had but to apply to him and everything should be settled; that as to Independency, it was an event in the womb of time, and it would be highly improper for him to say anything on that subject until it had actually taken place; meantime he informed me that the British Ambassador knew of my arrival, and therefore advised me not to associate with Englishmen more than I was from necessity obliged, as he doubted not I should have many spies on my conduct.

I then told him the precautions I had taken and should persevere in, in coming from Bermuda, and that I did not mean in publick to pass for other than a merchant from that Island on speculation, during the present cessation of commerce in America; but at the same time I told his Excellency that I was well assured it was known in London that I was coming long before I arrived at Paris, and I doubted not they conjectured my errand, but at the same time I should take every precaution in my power; and most sincerely thanked him for his protection and assistance so generously offered, which he might depend I would never abuse. He was pleased with my having come by Bermuda, and passing as an inhabitant of that Island, and said, if questioned, he should speak of me in that character.

He then asked me many questions with respect to the Colonies; but what he seemed most to want to be assured of, was their ability to subsist without their fisheries, and under the interruption of their commerce. To this I replied in this manner: that the fisheries were never carried on but by a part of the Colonies, and by them not so much as a means of subsistence as of commerce; that the fishery failing, those formerly employed in them turned part to agriculture and part to the army and navy; that our commerce must for some time be in a great measure suspended, but that the greater part of our importations were far from being necessaries of life, consequently we should not suffer under the want of them, whilst it was not wealth or luxuries that we were contending for; that our commerce ceasing, it would be out of the power of our enemies to support themselves on our plunder, and on the other hand, our ships, as privateers, might harass their commerce without a possibility of their retaliating; that I hoped to see a considerable marine force in the Colonies, and that, joined to the impossibility of Britain's guarding so extensive a coast, would preserve some of our commerce, until it should be thought an object deserving the protection of other Powers.

After many questions on this subject, he put this, in which I thought he seemed interested,—whether, if the Colonies declare an Independency, they would not differ among themselves? To this I replied, that the greatest harmony had as yet subsisted, and I had no grounds to doubt it in future; that the common danger, which first drove them into measures which must end in such a declaration, would subsist, and that alone was sufficient to ensure their union.

He then desired me to give his Secretary my d-dress, and said, though he should be glad to see me often, yet, as matters were circumstanced, his house was too publick a place, but that I might put the same confidence in his Secretary as himself, to whom I might apply for advice and direction, but that when-

ever anything of importance occurred I need but inform him and he would see me; but on common occasions I must address the Secretary, which would be every way more convenient, as he understood the English language well, and was a person in whom the greatest confidence could be placed.

Having settled the mode of intercourse, I expressed the sense I had of his Excellency's politeness, and the generous protection he had given me; and on parting said, if my commission or the mode of introducing the subject were out of the usual course, I must rely on his goodness to make allowances for a new-formed people, in circumstances altogether unprecedented, and for their agent wholly unacquainted with Courts. To which he replied, that the people and their cause were very respectable in the eyes of all disinterested persons, and that the interview had been agreeable.

After this I returned to Paris with M. Dubourg, whose zeal for the American cause led him to draw the most favourable consequences from this beginning. The next day, while from home, I was informed that Count Laureguais had inquired out my lodgings, immediately after which he asked leave to go to England, which was refused him by the Court. The same day I was informed that Sir Hans Stanley and Sir Charles Jenkinson, who I knew were at Bordeaux when I left it, were in France for the sole purpose of inquiring what agents were here from the Colonies, and what commerce or other negotiation between them and the Colonies were carrying on. This alarmed my friends, and as I had agreed for other lodgings, to which I was next day to remove, M. Dubourg advised me to secrete both my lodgings and name. I told him that the Count Laureguais's conduct appeared mysterious, yet I could never think of keeping myself secret, for though I should not seek these gentlemen, nor throw myself purposely in their way, yet I must think it an ill compliment to Count Vergennes to suppose, after what had passed, that I

was not on as good and safe footing in France as they or any other gentlemen could be. However, his uneasiness made him write to the Count what he had advised, who returned for answer, that such a step was both unnecessary and impolitick, as it would only strengthen suspicions by giving everything an air of mystery, while there was not the least occasion for it.

The next day I had a fresh conference with M. Dubourg, who brought me a number of memorials from officers and engineers, offering their services in America; some of whom, I believe, deserve the utmost encouragement; but more of this hereafter. While I was casting in my mind how best to improve the present favourable crisis for supplying the Colonies, M. Beaumarchais made proposals for procuring whatever should be wanted, but in such a manner as was understood by M. Dubourg to amount to a monopoly, which indeed was not his only objection, for M. Beaumarchais, though confessedly a man of abilities, had always been a man of pleasure and never of business; but as he was recommended by Count Vergennes, M. Dubourg could not avoid noticing him, but immediately expostulated with the Count in a letter, which brought on embarrassments no way favourable; and I saw that that M. Dubourg was so far from seconding the views of his superior in this manœuvre that he was, with the best intentions in the world, in danger of counteracting his own wishes, the extent of which were to obtain the supplies of merchants and manufacturers on the credit of the Colonies, in which the strictest punctuality and most scrupulous exactness would be necessary, and which, under the present difficulties of remittance, I feared would not be lived up to.

As I had learned that in the late reform of the French Army, they had shifted their arms for those of a lighter kind, the heavy ones, most of which were the same as new, to the amount of seventy or eighty thousand, lay useless in magazines, with other military

stores, in some such proportion, I apprehended it no way impossible to come at a supply from hence, through the agency of some merchant, without the Ministry being concerned in the matter. In such case the merchant would be accountable to the Ministry, and the Colonies to the merchant, by which means a greater time of payment might be given, and more allowance in case of being disappointed. With this in view, I went to Versailles on Wednesday, the 17th, and waited on M. Gerard, First Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and presented to him the enclosed memorial, which led to a very particular conversation on the affairs of America, and which I turned finally on this subject; to which he would not then give me any immediate answer, but promised me one in a day or two. Returning to town I found Messrs. Dubourg and Beaumarchais had a misunderstanding, the latter giving out that he could effect everything we wished for, and the former, from the known circumstances of M. Beaumarchais, and his known carelessness in money matters, suspecting he could procure nothing, and the more so as he promised so largely. They parted much displeased with each other, and M. Beaumarchais went directly to Versailles. On M. Dubourg's coming and informing me what had passed, I immediately wrote to M. Gerard the enclosed letter, and in return was desired to come with M. Dubourg the next morning to Versailles.

We went, as desired, and after explaining many things to M. Gerard, had a conference with his Excellency, from whom I had fresh assurances of the utmost freedom and protection in their ports and on their coasts; that, in one word, I might rely on whatever Monsieur Beaumarchais should engage in the commercial way of supplies, which, indeed, was all I wished for, as I was on the safe side of the question, viz: on the receiving part. I communicated to his Excellency that clause of my instructions for procuring arms, &c., of which he asked a copy. I then informed

him, that I considered the present as a most critical juncture of American affairs, that the campaign would undoubtedly be carried far into the winter, that supplies now shipped might arrive very seasonably in the fall to enable the Colonies to hold out the present campaign. He replied, that no delay should be made by any obstruction of any officer, or others of the customs or police. He then told me that the Count Laureguais was, perhaps, a well meaning man, but not sufficiently discreet for such purposes as this; that Mr. Lee (meaning Mr. Arthur Lee, of London) had confided, he feared, too much in him, and wished me to caution him on the subject, and that if I would write to him he would enclose it in a letter of his, by a courier that evening. I most readily embraced this safe way of corresponding, and sent a letter I had before written, with an addition on this subject, a copy of which is enclosed. I have thus given you the heads of my negotiation to this time, July 20th, and will not take up your time in making remarks on it and the prospects before me, which are obvious; but inform you of the plan I mean to pursue in the execution of my commission, and hint some methods by which I think I may be enabled to complete every part of it to your satisfaction, and the relief of my country, which is all my wish, and the extent of my most ambitious hopes. I go on the supposition of an actual unconditional independency, without which little can be effected publickly; with it, almost everything we can wish for.

It is by no means probable that Europe will long remain in a state of peace; the disputes between Portugal and Spain are on the point of producing an open rupture; the former relies on England, the latter will look to this Kingdom, and has already applied to this Court on the subject. Nothing but the division of Poland has taken the King of Prussia's attention off from the injustice done him by Great Britain at the close of the last war. He has now completed his part

of that extraordinary work, and, I am well informed, listens with pleasure to the dispute between the United Colonies and Great Britain. He is ambitious of becoming a maritime Power, and is already in possession of the capital ports on the Baltick; but without commerce it is impossible to effect the design, and no commerce can put him so directly in the road as the American. The consumption of coffee, sugar, and other West-India productions, increases fast in the north of Europe, and it must be his interest, at least, to supply his own dominions. In case of a war in Europe, France, Spain, and Prussia might be brought into one interest, and the Emperor of Germany is too closely connected with his Majesty of France to take part against them, after which, Great Britain having her whole force employed in America, there could be nothing on the one hand to prevent Spain and France from reducing Portugal to a submission to the former, nor from Prussia and France subduing and incorporating into their own dominions Hanover and the other little mercenary Electorates which lie between them, and which for several centuries have been one principal cause of every war that has happened in Europe.

With respect to Russia, it is as closely allied to Prussia as to Great Britain, and may be expected to be master in the contest. Denmark and Sweden are a balance for each other, and opposites. Not to enlarge on this plan at present, I have only to suggest that an application to the King of Prussia will do no harm, and may be attended with good and great consequences; the Prussian Ambassador at this Court and at that of London may be sounded on the subject. But my powers and instructions are so limited, that I can by no means take such a step; yet when I see Great Britain exerting her whole force, and that of her Allies, and courting every Power in Europe to aid her, I can but wish she may be counteracted in her own system, and by having employ found for her in Europe,

bring her to leave America in peace; and I think myself bound in duty to hint at what to me seems the most probable means. Dr. Bancroft was full with me in this opinion. M. Chaumont, a very wealthy person, and Intendant for providing clothes, &c., &c., for the French Army, has offered me a credit on account of the Colonies, to the amount of one million of livres, which I have accepted. I have in treaty another credit, which, joined to this, will purchase the articles directed in my instructions. The credit will be until May next, before which I hope remittances will be made. I have purchased of said M. Chaumont a quantity of saltpetre at ten sous, or five and one-fourth per cent., in order that Captain Morgan might not return empty. As soon as I have given the orders for despatching him, and settled some other matters here, I design for Dunkirk, to ship the Indian goods, which I hope may arrive in season for the winter supply; though I leave you to consider my situation, with only about six or seven thousand pounds to complete a contract of forty, and the bills for my private expenses being protested, obliged to support myself out of that capital, which I labour to do with all the economy in my power.

Dr. Bancroft is returned to London, and by him I wrote to Monsieur Garnier, and agreed on a mode of correspondence. I think your remittances in armed vessels will be much the best method, and I have ordered Captain Morgan's sloop to be armed, and should she arrive safe recommend him as one I am confident will serve the Colonies with great zeal and fidelity, and I have had some experience of the goodness of his temper and his abilities. Mr. Seymour, his mate, is also deserving of encouragement, as a good seaman and of undaunted resolution.

I am not without hopes of obtaining liberty for the armed vessels of the United Colonies to dispose of their prizes in the ports of this Kingdom, and also for arming and fitting out vessels of war directly from

hence, but I will not venture on this until I see what effect my last memoir may have; the substance of which is to show the danger to France and Spain, if they permit Great Britain to keep so enormous a force in America, and to recover the dominion of the Colonies; also how fully it is in their power to prevent it, and by that means deprive Great Britain of the principal source of her wealth and force, even without hazarding a war of any consequence in point of danger.

This memoir, which takes several sheets, I am unable to send you a copy of, as I have no one to assist me, and must make out several copies for the persons to whom they are to be delivered. I was directed to apply for arms and clothes for twenty-five thousand men, and for one hundred field-pieces, with ammunition and stores in proportion. This I wished to get of the Ministry direct, but they evaded it, and I am now in treaty for procuring them through the agency of M. Chaumont and M. Beaumarchais, on a credit of eight months from the time of their delivery. If I effect this, as I undoubtedly shall, I must rely on the remittances being made this fall and winter without fail, or the credit of the Colonies must suffer. If I can get the arms out of the magazines, and the field-pieces here, I hope for a much longer credit; but if we send to Sweden for the brass cannon, the credit will not be lengthened beyond that. Some new improvements have lately been made in this branch, consequently the cannon now manufactured will be preferable to those of former construction. Some Engineers here assert, that iron is preferable to brass, that is, wrought iron, out of which the pieces may be made lighter, and to a better purpose. Considering the want of these pieces, and the plenty of iron in America, the experiment might, I think, be made without delay. I am still in hopes of procuring admission of the article of tobacco directly from America, but the Farmers-General will not offer equivalent to the risk.

Without intelligence from April to this time, leaves me quite uncertain and extremely anxious about the line of conduct now pursuing by Congress, and consequently I cannot, without further intelligence and instructions, proceed in my negotiation either with safety or honour. The resolution of Congress of the 15th of May, is not considered by the Ministry as a Declaration of Independence, but only a previous step, and until this decisive step is taken I can do little more to any purpose. This taken, I dare pledge myself, the United Colonies may obtain all the countenance and assistance they wish for, in the most open and publick manner, and the most unlimited credit with the merchants of this Kingdom. I must therefore urge this measure, if not already taken, and that the Declaration be in the most full and explicit terms.

Merchants here would speculate deeply in the American trade, could they be insured at any premium within bounds. I wish to know if offices are already open, and I would suggest that if the Congress would take the insurance under their own direction, it would give it such a proportionably greater credit, that supplies would most certainly be obtained in plenty. I shall be able to procure a private interview with the Spanish Ambassador, and shall present him my memorial, and am in a train which I think will carry it quite to the fountain head.

Thus I have in a minute, possibly a tedious, detail, mentioned everything material on my mind, which has occurred since my arrival, and submit the whole to the wisdom and candour of the honourable Congress, observing that I had gone to the extent of my instructions; and though I have been successful beyond my expectations, yet I have but been labouring principally to set certain great wheels in motion, which still want something more decisive on my part, and I am confident of all that is wanting to set them so effectually moving as to roll the burden and calamities of war from our doors back with aggravated ruin on its

authors, which, if I can be the means of effecting, the world may bestow the rest of its honours on whom it pleases; I shall be contented, the extent of my most ambitious hopes thus accomplished.

I have now to urge a survey with respect to the contents of this letter. More that is said in Congress transpires and crosses the Atlantick than you conceive of, more than I can account for, without having uncharitable thoughts of individuals, still without fixing them on any one. I have written a short letter to Mr. Jay on common affairs, and have enclosed one to M. Longueville, which I pray may be forwarded; the letter is from his friends here, who have heard of his being a prisoner somewhere in America. M. Dubourg has continued to render me every assistance in his power; to be particular would swell this letter beyond all bounds; his abilities and connexions are of the first style in this Kingdom, and his zeal for the cause of the United Colonies is to be described only by saying that at times it is in danger of urging him beyond both; in short, I am every way deeply indebted to him: personally, for bringing me acquainted with agreeable persons of rank and character; and on account of my honoured constituents, for assisting me to make such a favourable beginning and progress in my business. I know not how affluent he may be, but as he has really for some time devoted himself to assist in this negotiation, I am confident something honourable will be thought of for him. I have complimented him by asking of him his portrait to be sent to his and my friends in America, in my private capacity, mentioning our mutual friend Dr. Franklin. This I found so agreeable, that I am confident some such distinction would be more acceptable than more lucrative rewards. Dr. B. took pains to collect all the political publications of the last year for me and brought them with him; he was at considerable expense in his journey. I sent him from Bordeaux a bill of thirty pounds, and paid his expenses in my

lodgings here; at parting, I desired him to keep an account, and when the money was expended to inform me. This gentleman is certainly capable of giving as good, if not the best, intelligence of any man in Great Britain, as he is closely connected with the most respectable of the minority in both Houses, not particularly obnoxious to the majority, and for his abilities, they are too well known to Dr. Franklin to need any attempt to do them justice in a letter.

I am, with the highest esteem and respect for the Honourable Congress and their Committee of Secret Correspondence, &c.

SILAS DEANE.

August 1st. Since writing the foregoing, I have been at , and am of opinion that a war between Portugal and Spain is at the door; and I have had an interview proposed with the Ambassador of Portugal, who resides here, on commercial affairs, which I have most readily embraced, and expect to see him again on Wednesday next, after which I will write you further; his proposals are merely commercial, as is his station, but something else may be investigated.

August 2d. I should have sent this off earlier, but delayed on account of hearing something more directly, if I might depend on certain articles for which I was in treaty; I am now assured I may, and the whole will be ready to ship in all the month of October. My next labour will be to obtain a convoy, which I do not despair of, though it is a delicate question, and I have only sounded at a distance, yet I have no doubt of obtaining one, at least, off the coast of Europe, and the articles will be shipped as for the West-India Islands. I propose arming and well manning the vessels in which these articles shall be embarked, and I advise again the sending all remittances to Europe in armed vessels; the probability of meeting with English merchants is well worth the risk. I hope that it will be considered that one hundred field-

pieces, and arms, clothing, and accoutrements, with military stores, for twenty-five thousand men, is a large affair; and that although I am promised any credit, yet as they must be paid for, the sooner the better, if to be done without too great a risk.

A considerable part of these articles are now on hand, and orders are issued for the others by the contractors this day. I prefer Bordeaux to any other port for shipping them from, but the remittances must be made to several, on which I will give you my opinion in my next. A number of gentlemen of rank and fortune, who have seen service, and have good characters, are desirous of serving the United Colonies, and have applied. Pray let me have orders on this subject. If it be politick to interest this Kingdom in the present contest, what way so effectual as to get into their debt for supplies, and employ persons of good family and connexions in it, in our service? I have given encouragement, on which some are prepared to embark. One Mons. C., a celebrated Engineer, who was chief in that way in the Turkish Army, is returned, and is willing to go to America; but the Ministry cannot as yet spare him, as certain regulations are making elsewhere; possibly he may go out some time in the winter; he is a first character in his profession and otherwise. Indeed, this contention has set on foot such a spirit of inquiry in Europe into the state of America, that I am convinced that at the first close of this war, if, as I trust in God, it will close in our favour, there will be an inundation of inhabitants from this side of the globe. Many persons of capital fortunes have declared to me their resolution of moving to America as soon as the liberties of America shall be established, and that many of their friends will accompany them.

August 15th. I received from a friend at Amsterdam, a letter informing me that he would be with me on the 20th, and so as the vessel could not be sooner ready to sail I determined not to risk this packet by a

private hand, or by the publick post; he is now arrived, and takes charge of it in person. Were it possible, I would attempt to paint to you the heart-rending anxiety I have suffered in this time, through a total want of intelligence. My arrival here, my name, my lodgings, and many other particulars, have been reported to the British Administration, on which they sent orders to the British Ambassador to remonstrate in high terms, and, to enforce their remonstrances, despatched Wedderburn from London, and Lord Rochford from Holland, as a person of great interest and address, here to counteract me. They have been some time here, and the city swarms with Englishmen; and as money purchases everything in this country, I have had, and still have, a most difficult task to avoid their machinations. Not a coffee-house or theatre, or other place of publick diversion, but swarms with their emissaries; but knowing the Ministry are my friends, I attended these places as others, but cautiously avoid saying a word on American affairs anywhere except in my own hotel, or those of my intimate friends.

I have seen many more of the persons in power in this time, and had long conversations with them. Their intentions are good, and they appear convinced; but there is wanting a great and daring genius at their head, which the Count Maurepas is very far from being; he has even imbibed a notion that no assistance is necessary, as the Colonies are too powerful for Great Britain. All eyes are turned on the Duc de Choiseul. I am convinced the moment he comes into office an active, open, and will be taken. I think he will be Minister very soon; meantime I have nothing to complain of the . Indeed they will not be altered if he takes the lead. I find M. Beaumarchais, as I before hinted, possesses the entire confidence of the Ministry; he is a man of wit and genius, and a considerable writer on comick and political subjects. All my supplies are to come

through his hands, which at first greatly discouraged my friends, knowing him to be a person of no interest with the merchants; but had I been as doubtful as they, I could not have stepped aside from the path so cordially marked out for me by those I depend on. M. Coudray, the Engineer I before hinted at, obtained liberty last week to go for America with as many Engineers as he should choose, and was not only assured of M. Beaumarchais being able to procure the stores he had stipulated for, but received orders for them, and liberty to take two hundred pieces of brass cannon, lest part might be intercepted. M. Coudray has the character of the first Engineer in the Kingdom, and his manners and disposition will, I am confident, be highly pleasing to you, as he is a plain, modest, active, sensible man, perfectly averse to frippery and parade. My friends here rejoice at the acquisition; and considering the character of the man, and at whose hands I in effect received him, I must congratulate you on it. Several young gentlemen of fortune, whose families are nearly connected with the Court, are preparing to embark for America, by each of whom I shall, without disguise, write you the characters they sustain here. I have told them that merit is the sole object with the Congress. The bearer can give you some idea of the situation I am in, should this packet fail; and should he arrive with it, he may explain some part of it. I am confident his attention to the affairs of America here will be considered by the Congress. I have found him in the mercantile way active and intelligent.

Mr. Carmichael is now with me from Maryland, and I find him a person of great merit. Respecting the Colonies, he is recommended as such by , from whom he has received a letter, but of no immediate importance; he proposes seeing me here this month. M. Dumas has written me two letters from the Hague, but so timid that he has not ventured to sign either, though he speaks in the highest terms of

the American cause. The pamphlet called *Common Sense* has been translated, and has a greater run, if possible, here than in America. A person of distinction, writing to his noble friend in office, has these words: "Je pense comme vous, mon cher Compte, que le *Common Sense* est une excellente ouvrage, et que son auteur est un des plus grands legislateurs des millions d'ecrivains, que nous connoissions; il n'est pas douteux, que si les Americains suivent le beau plan, que leur compatriote leur a tracé, ils deviendront la nation la plus florissante et la plus heureuse, qui ait jamais existé."

Thus freely do men think and write in a country long since deprived of the essentials of liberty. As I was favoured with a sight of the letter, and permitted to make this extract, I thought it worth sending you as a key to the sentiments of some of the leading men. I must again remind you of my situation here; the bills designed for my use are protested, and expenses rising fast in consequence of the business on my hands, which I may on no account neglect, and a small douceur, (though I have been sparing in that way,) is sometimes of the utmost importance. The quantity of stores to be shipped will amount to a large sum, the very charge on them will be great, for which I am the only responsible person. Five vessels arrived from America with fish, which is a prohibited article, and the officers of the customs detained them, on which I was sent to, and informed that if those vessels came from the Congress to me, they should be permitted to unload and sell. Here was a difficulty, indeed, for the Captain had not so much as applied to me by letter; however, I assured the that there could be no doubt but they were designed for that use, and that the letters for me must have miscarried; on which orders were issued for unloading and storing those cargoes until further intelligence should arrive. I mention this case in confidence, and pray that in future some regulation may be made on this subject, and

that vessels coming out may be directed to apply to me as their agent or owner, at least, and I will procure in the different ports houses of known reputation to transact their business. This is absolutely necessary; for by this means their articles may be admitted. Tobacco may come in this way, and every other article. deeply indebted ostensibly to M. Beaumarchais, he can obtain the liberty for the discharge of their debts. M. Coudray will see that the articles of ammunition, cannon, &c., are provided in the best manner for the Army, and will embark himself by the 1st of October.

I wrote you from Bermuda on the subject of seizing and fortifying that Island. I am well informed the British Ministry have had it in contemplation, and propose doing it next spring. Mr. Warder, of Philadelphia, came a few days since from Bordeaux to Paris, and called on me with some young gentlemen from New-England; he brought letters from my good friends Messrs. , in consequence of letters to them from Mr. Alsop. I received him, as I do all my countrymen, with real pleasure. A gentleman present warned him against conversing with a particular person in Paris, to which Mr. W. seemed to agree; yet I am told he went directly from my hotel to that person, and informed him of everything he heard mentioned, and of every person he saw visiting me; happily he could inform nothing of any consequence, for my chamber was full of mixed company, and the conversation was general, and in French and in English. But this conduct of his, with his want of common complaisance in leaving the city without calling on me to receive any letters I might have for London, which he had promised to convey, has given me some uneasiness, and I mention the incident only as a caution how and what persons are recommended. The pleasure I feel in seeing one of my countrymen is such, that I may be in as great danger from them as others—possibly much more. I should be unhappy if any suspicion

should operate to the prejudice of this person without cause; but my friends here, who are kindly attentive to everything that is said or done which respects America, think very strange of his conduct.

I rely on your indulgence for the length and incorrectness of this letter. I have had much on my hands, and no one to assist me in copying, &c. Visits from persons to whom I cannot be denied, or visiting them, with constant applications made on various subjects, take up my mornings, and I have had only now and then an evening to write in.

I have seen the prime agent, who proposed something in the way of supplying the Colonies with military stores from Prussia. I shall confer further on the subject with him, and write you. I have drawn up a memorial on the commerce of America and its importance to Europe, and shall present it to-morrow to the different personages concerned. I shall send a copy, if I can get one made, by this conveyance. The debt of the Colonies in carrying on the war is a common topick for Ministerial writers; but permit me to assure you at the close of this long letter, that the demand for land in America, if its liberties are established, will more than compensate the whole expense. I will in a future letter be more explicit on this important subject, but am well convinced of the certainty of this fact, "that the advance in the price of lands in America, if the Colonies are victorious, will more than reimburse the expenses of the war." I have nothing material to add. Never were a people more anxious for news than the people of this Kingdom are for news from America; and surely you will put me down as one of the first in the roll of American heroes, when you consider my situation, plunging into very important engagements, which I can by no means avoid, yet without funds to support them. But I will not enlarge on the subject, and only say, that I have met with every possible encouragement from every person I have seen, whether in or out of office, and I believe no person in the same

space of time ever conferred with more of both. My being known to be an American, and supposed to be one of the Congress, and in business for the United Colonies, has introduced me beyond what almost any other recommendation could have done, which I mention to convince you of the attention paid here to the cause of the United Colonies, and how very popular it has become in this country.

I have repeatedly seen Mr. Hopkins, formerly of Maryland, now advanced to be a Brigadier-General in this service. He talks of coming out to America. Should the Duc de Choiseul, who is his friend and patron, come into the lead of Administration, he might come out to advantage. Insurance from London to Jamaica is twenty per cent. If a few of our cruisers would venture on this coast they might do very well, as they would find protection in the harbours of this Kingdom. Coming ostensibly for the purpose only of commerce or otherwise, no questions would be asked, and they might wait until an opportunity offered (of which they might be minutely informed), and then strike something to the purpose. I give this hint to individuals, rather than to the honourable Congress as a body. The bearer, Mr. McCreary, has obliged me by copying my memoir, which I send herewith. It has had a great run among the Ministers of this and some other Courts in a private way. M. Beaumarchais writes by this opportunity. He has shown me his letter, and I have agreed in general to the contents, not understanding any exclusive privilege for his house. Everything he says, writes, or does, is in reality the action of the Ministry; for that a man should but a few months since confine himself from his creditors, and now on this occasion be able to advance half a million, is so extraordinary that it ceases to be a mystery. M. Coudray was not in the Turkish service, as I was informed; it was a gentleman who proposes accompanying him, but he is an officer of the first eminence, an Adjutant-General in the French

service, and his prospects here of rising are exceeding good; but he is dissatisfied with an idle life. His proposals in general have been, that he should be General of the Artillery, and subject only to the orders of Congress, or their Committee of War, or of their Commander-in-Chief of the Army where he might be. In the next place, that he should rank as Major-General, and have the same wages, &c., coming in as youngest Major-General for the present, and rising of course.

Many other particulars are not yet adjusted, but considering the importance of having two hundred pieces of brass cannon, with every necessary article for twenty-five thousand men, provided with an able and experienced General at the head of it, warranted by the Minister of this Court to be an able and faithful man, with a number of fine and spirited young officers in his train, and all without advancing one shilling, is too tempting an object for me to hesitate about, though I own there is a silence in my instructions. I therefore honestly declare I am at your mercy in this case, and I have no uneasiness of mind on the occasion; for should I be sacrificed, it will be in that cause to which I have devoted my life and every in it. The terms of M. Coudray may be thought high; but consider a person leaving a certain and permanent service and his native country to go, he hardly knows where, and it must be supposed he will ask at least as good terms as he could have in his own country; but as the terms have not been particularly considered, I must defer anything further on this subject for the present, hourly in hopes of some explicit intelligence from the honourable Congress. You have the good wishes of every one here. Chevalier de Chastellier desires me this instant to write down his compliments to Dr. Franklin; and with pleasure I say, the being known to be his friend is one of the best recommendations a man can wish to have in France, and will introduce him when titles fail. S. D.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev. I., 9.

To Charles W. F. Dumas.

Paris, August 18, 1776.

Sir,—Your favour of the 8th, and one earlier, but without a date, are before me, and I return you my thanks for the attention paid to mine, and more especially for the good opinion you entertain of my countrymen, and your tenders of service. The business before me here is of such a nature, that I must be detained for some time in this city. If I take a journey to Holland, it will be my choice to make it as a private gentleman, as such I am in Paris, and that character I shall keep, unless obliged to alter. Parade and pomp have no charms in the eyes of a patriot, or of even a man of common good sense; but, at the same time, I can never submit to the changing of my name, unless I am convinced that so humiliating a step will promote the service of my country; I can pass, as unnoticed under that name, as any other, whilst I conduct, in every other respect, as a private gentleman. I have now but little hopes of being in Holland before October, before which such intelligence may arrive from America, as may alter my present designs. The declaration of independancy, made by the United Colonies, is announced in the English papers, but I have received no dispatches on the event, though I am in daily expectation of them. You ask me two questions in your first letter: to the former, I answer at once affirmatively, and that I have a certain prospect of succeeding in my business; but, as to the latter, or second query, I cannot so readily reply, for I know not how far the knowledge of me and my concerns may have extended. I am here as a private merchant, and appear as such, whatever suspicion may circulate; as such, I can travel, I trust, into your country, which I most ardently wish to see, and the more so on account of the kind, simple, and engaging invitation you have given me; it really affected me, and brought instantaneously to view those happy and peaceful scenes of domestic felicity, to which I am at present a stranger

You have all I can give you, a grateful resentment of your kindness, and depend that I will in person acknowledge it on my first arrival in Holland. It is the policy of the United Provinces of Holland to be neuter in every contention. The United Colonies only wish them to keep steady to their only true system of policy in the present case; and, give me leave to say, that a reflection on their former struggles, must shew them in what point of light the Americans are to be considered. But, my dear sir, the United Colonies ask no aid or alliances. Let Britain court every, even the most petty and mercenary power in Europe, the United Colonies only ask for what nature surely entitles all men to, a free and uninterrupted commerce and exchange of the superfluities of one country for those of another; and the first power in Europe, which takes advantage of the present favorable occasion, must exceed every other in commerce. But I am rambling. I pray to know in your next letter, what sums are due to Holland from the government of England. Whether the King of Prussia is wholly inattentive to the present proceedings, and if he attends, on which side his wishes are. *Omnia tentanda.* I really hope to be in the Hague in October, and promise myself great pleasure in seeing you and your lady, to whom, though otherwise unknown, since you have introduced me, you cannot refuse presenting my best respects.

I am with great esteem, Sir,
Your most obliged, and
Very humble servant,
S. DEANE.

The Port Folio, III., 214, *July 2d*, 1803.

TO COUNT DE VERGENNES.

Paris, August 22, 1776.

SIR,—I was this morning informed of the arrival of Mr. Arthur Lee, and that he would be in Paris to-morrow. This was surprising to me, as I knew of no par-

ticular affair that might call him here; and considering the extreme jealousy of the British Ministry at this time, and that Mr. Lee was the agent of the United Colonies in Great Britain, and known to be such, I could wish, unless he had received some particular intelligence from the United Colonies, that he had suspended his visit, as I know not otherwise how he can serve me or my affairs, now (with the most grateful sense I mention it) in as favourable a course as the situation of the times will admit.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

Diplomatic Correspondence Amer. Rev., I., 40

TO CONRAD A. GERARD.

Paris, August 22d, 1776.

I was this morning informed of the Arrival of Mr. Arthur Lee, & that he would be in Paris to-morrow. This was surprising to me, as I knew of no particular Affair that might call him here, & considering the extreme Jealousy of the British Ministry at this time, and that Mr. Lee was the Agent of the United Colonies in Great Britain, and known to be such, I could have wished, unless he has received some particular intelligence from the United Colonies, that he had suspended his Visit, as I know not, otherways, how he can serve me, or my affairs, now (with the most grateful sense I mention it) in as favorable a Course as the situation of the times will admit. I should not, however, have mentioned his coming here to you, were I not apprehensive that the extreme Jealousy of the British Ministry, and their Agents here, will excite some Complaints in which I may be misrepresented, & attempts made to prejudice my Affairs. I therefore judg'd it most prudent to inform you of all I knew of the matter, & that I had, on being told of his coming, desired his Friends to advise him not on any Consideration to Appear in public. The British Ministry are resolv'd on something, I know not what,

for, in Addition to the Spies they already have in Paris, they have given one Co^{l}. Mercer, a Virginian, a pension of Four Hundred pounds Stg p ann on condition of his receiving it in France, and he is Now on his way to this City, if not arrived. He was a few Days since at Rouan, and I doubt not he is the Person which Mons^{r}. Beaumarchais spoke to Me of; his receiving his Pension in France, which is in effect to be rewarded, & exiled at the same instant, is one of those mysteries which explain themselves. I have long wish'd for One Hour's Conversation with you, but knowing how closely I was watched, I have deferr'd it, but should have come out this Day had I not understood it was something of a public Day at Versailles, but if agreeable to you I will wait on you next Monday Morning, at Nine o'Clock, privately at your Own House.

Possibly my Business may not require an interview with his Excellency, but it is at least Necessary that I should inform him of some things through you. Particular Instructions must arrive soon, as well as intelligence of the utmost importance, from the Colonies. I leave you to imagine, in the meantime, what an anxious situation mine is. The situation of the Two Armies is well known to Me—and the want of action between them appears to Me very doubtful.

This is certain, that Victory on the part of the British Troops will be so farr from being decisive that it will be in part a defeat; on the other side it must be decisive if in favour of the United Colonies. A little assistance arriving in Season will be of the last importance let Victory declare on either Side, and I am happy in that hope.

If the time I mention is not agreeable, you will oblige Me by naming another, & in writing me one line just to satisfy Me of your receiving this.

I am most respectfully,
Sir, your most Obe$^{dt.}$
& very Hum^{l} Se^{r} S. DEANE.

Mon$^{rs.}$ Gerard.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 579.

Memoire of Silas Deane to the French Foreign Office.

In the Instructions given M^r^ Deane by the honorable Committee of Secresy, for the Congress of the United Colonies in North America, he is among other things charged to sollicit for a Credit for "Cloathing & Arms for Twenty-five Thousand men, with a Suitable Quantity of Ammunition, and One hundred Feild peices" which Article closes, with saying that the whole if granted or obtained, "would make a Cargo that it might be well to secure by a Convoy of Two or Three Shipps of Warr."

These Articles are now engaged but Great Brittain, depending more on preventing supplies to the Colonies of the means of Defence, than on their formidable Armaments, have taken, and still pursue, every measure, both of Negotiation & Warr, to deprive the United Colonies of necessary supplies of Cloathing, & Stores for Warr.

The safe Arrival of these stores is of the last importance, &, in some sense, the Fate of the United Colonies depends upon it. The time for their Arrival will be in November or December, when the Campaign on the part of the Army of Great Brittain, unaccustomed to the Severities of that Climate, must be closed; And it is easy to foresee that it must be in one of the following Situations.

If Victorious and Successful in every Attempt, they will be in possession of New York, Albany and thence of the Water courses into Canada, of Long Island and some part of the Jersies. The late opening of the Campaign will not admit of more considering the Nature of the Country, should they meet with no defeats, & the Season will call their Attention to such Winter Quarters, where they may be most secure from the Forces of the United Colonies, & best receive reinforcements from Europe.

On the other hand, if the Army of the United Colonies

are victorious, that of Great Brittain must remain shut up in Staten Island under worse Circumstances than they were last year in Boston, or return to Hallifax, or what in such a case a Case is much the most probable, winter in the West Indies. In either case the Arrival of this Supply at this time will be of the utmost importance to the Army of the United Colonies. If unfortunate, their Spirits will be revived, and, defying the inclemency of the Season to which they are habituated, they will rally and their Enemy having no Advantage of fortified Towns to Shelter them, they will with ease regain all they lost in the Summer, &, pursuing the Blow, wholly drive the British Forces from the Continent. If fortunate, & the British Forces situated in one of the above places, one of which on such an Event must be their Situation, this supply will enable them to drive them off finally & prevent their Return. Several other Considerations need not be particularized; they are seen at once by a Supposition of those Stores being intercepted—to prevent which the most prudent & effective Measures must be taken.

The Stores, if Shipped in French Bottoms, will be Safe on the open Sea, at least they ought to be so, & the Vessels have a right of entering the Ports of North America to refit or repair, under cover of which they might be landed; many other ways may be taken to effect the same purpose without Violation of the Laws of Commerce, but, *inter Arma Silent Leges*, & we have no hopes in this case to be an exception to this general Rule; But after every other precaution, must be prepared to oppose Force to Force, in the doing which, the United Colonies would by no means pursue, or wish to have such Measures pursued, as might involve France in a Warr solely on their Account.

But as the United Colonies have declared themselves Free and independant States, and have declared open Warr with Great Brittain, if this Commerce with the United Colonies, considered in Connection with other important Objects, should be deem'd deserving Support

& protection, France has the same Right to support and protect it, as a Commerce with the United Colonies of Holland, if at Warr with Great Brittain, and for Great Brittain To forbid such a Commerce at the risque of a Warr, is in one Word to Assume the right of prescribing Laws to France, which whatever he[r] inclination prompts on this head her present Resources & desperate Situation will never imbolden her to Attempt. In considering this Subject, several Methods have been thought of, some one of which may possibly meet with Approbation, & prove effectual, or some one different may be formed from these hints.

1st. It is humbly submitted, whither at this Critical period it will not be judged the true policy of France to have a Fleet of Observation in the American Seas, and should such a Fleet be sent out, whither these Stores might not be sent under its Convoy untill they arrived in those Seas & on that Coast.

2d. Should this measure not be adopted, or Should such Fleet Sail too late for this purpose whither permission might not be obtained for purchasing or hiring Three or Four Frigates as a Convoy, to Sail as for the West Indies under French Colors, but i on entering any harbor in America, they should be under the Necessity of Contending, it may be done under the Colors of the United Colonies.

3d. Should this be thought unadvisable, whither it would be permitted to hire Frigates of individuals for this purpose, observing strictly such Regulations as shall be prescribed for avoiding everything that might justify a rupture between the Two Nations.

The loss of these Stores by Capture would be every way of bad Consequence, though it would add but little comparatively to the Strength of the Enemy, yet the Loss to the United Colonies must be doubly great, heightened by so discouraging an Accident, at so critical a period of their Affairs.

These thoughts are humbly Submitted only by adding, that many American Seamen may now be engaged

in the Ports of Great Brittain & Ireland, who are detained from going direct for America, but would be permitted to ship themselves for Holland, or France; and who must other ways from Necessity, be soon reduced to enter the British Service.

Paris, August 22d, 1776.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 580.

To Arthur Lee.

Dear Sir,—Yours of the 20th ult° I did not receive untill the 9th inst., by which I concluded, that any Letter of mine could not arrive in Time to affect your Resolutions, & therefore I suspended answering, though had I rec^d any thing of importance, I should have sent it to you & my other Friends. I am still desirous of knowing if I am to have the pleasure of seeing you here; you are pleased to desire me to write your suspicions of certain individuals in America. You must know, that should I write in this manner, it would be fatal to the persons hinted at, & is there not a possibility of their innocence? there is no direct Charge against them, & two of the Gentlemen I have such knowledge of, that I would almost as soon distress myself; you must excuse me, from any office of this kind, save where some proof can be produced, to ground so Capital a Charge on; whenever such proof is produced I will transmit it, if desired, or not; but in the meantime if you, as you say in your Letter, have good Reason to fear for certain particular persons, You need only to send me your Letter on the subject, & I will carefully transmit it, but you must excuse me from becoming a second hand accuser of men of Character, without any thing in hand to support such accusation. My Letters to you will go under Cover, & will not be examined. I may therefore say that every appearance here is favorable, but I will not rely too farr. The absolute & unconditional independence of the Colonies is now become

necessary, & give me leave to hint the suspicions of my Countrymen, as well as my own, that the greater part of the Minority in England are averse to such a Declaration, & this is a suspicion, not Confined to America; France has the same sentiment of the greater part of the Minority in England; for us having declared independancy, & cut the Gordian, or ideal knot, we have nothing more to do with majority or Minority in this affair; the greatest Interest & the longest Sword must decide the dispute, consequently however well individuals in England may wish us, we can only remember them with gratitude, but must not step out of our way to pay them any other attention.

I am, &c.,

S. Deane.

Endorsed: Copy of a Letter To Arthur Lee, Esq, Aug. 19, 1776.

Thomas Mss.

To Charles W. F. Dumas.

Paris, September 11, 1776.

Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 29th ultimo, of the 2d, 5th, and 7th of this month, and at the same time to make my excuses for not answering them earlier, which was owing to my hurry of business, in part, and part to my hopes of being able to send you something agreeable from America, when I should next write you. Forgive, therefore, this seeming inattention, and accept my warmest thanks for the kind sentiments which you and your good lady entertain for me and my country. The cause of the Americans is the cause of mankind in general, and naturally interests the generous and the good in every part of the world.

The measures you took before my arrival, respecting this Court, were perfectly right, and you may rely on my secrecy as to your concerns. Our commerce is now on as good a footing in this kingdom and in Spain, as

the commerce of any other nation, and I trust will very soon have an important preference. When I said in a former letter we wanted only a friendly intercourse by way of commerce, I had not the vanity to suppose the actual assistance of European Powers was not an object deserving attention, but I must say seriously, that if the American commerce can be established with the trading Powers of Europe, and if those Powers of Europe would protect that commerce, it would be all the assistance necessary; and the Colonies by land would be more than equal to any thing Great Britain could bring against them. You are entirely right in saying that the House of Bourbon are the allies we should first and principally court. France is at the head of this House, and therefore what is done here is sure to be done by the whole. This, therefore, requires my whole attention, and I can only say to you, my prospects are nowise discouraging.

As to the King of Prussia, I will, in my next, explain more fully my meaning, and at the same time send to you a state of the United Colonies, of their commerce, of their present contest, with some thoughts or observations on the manner in which Europe must be affected, and what part they ought to take in the present important crisis. My name and business have long since been known to the British Ambassador here, and to the Court of London, and they have remonstrated, but finding remonstrances to no purpose, they have wisely determined to take no notice of me, as I do not appear as yet in a publick character.

Let me ask of you if a workman skillful in the founding of brass and iron cannon can be engaged in Holland to go to America? Also, if I can engage two or three persons of approved skill in lead mines, to go to America on good engagement? Your answer will oblige me, and by the next post I will write you more particularly. The British arms will not, probably, effect anything in America this season, as they had not begun to act the 8th of August, and that brings Winter to the very door,

as I may say, and an indecisive campaign must prove to Great Britain a fatal one. I am, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., IX., 283.

AGREEMENT WITH GEN. DU COUDRAY.

Articles of Agreement agreed on and entered into by and between Silas Deane, Agent for the United Colonies of North America for transacting their business, commercial and political, in France, on the one part, and the Sieur Philippus-Charles John Baptist Tronson Du Coudray, Adjutant-General of Artillery in the service of France.

1. The Sieur Du Coudray, under title of General of Artillery and Ordnance, and in rank of Major-General in the Forces of the United Colonies, shall have the direction of whatever relates to the Artillery and Corps of Engineers, under the order and control only of the Congress of the United Colonies, their Committee of War, or the Commander-in-Chief for the time being.

2. The Corps of Artillery and Engineers, as well officers as soldiers composing the same, shall be under his immediate command, with all the privileges and authority annexed to such command, respecting either rewards or punishments; and in case of vacancy in said corps by death, removal, or new creations, it shall be for him to recommend to the Congress, or their Committee of War, the persons proper for filling the same.

3. Whatever relates to the supplying the said corps with provision, to the construction of artillery and fortification, to any plan or scheme relative to these objects, will be consulted on with him, and the execution of whatever may be agreed on, committed to him, as within his department.

4. His allowance for pay and table shall be the same as to a Major-General in the service of the United Col-

onies in a separate command. Should he be made a prisoner, the same shall be continued. Should he by accident of war in the said services be rendered incapable of serving, or should he choose after six years' service to retire, he shall be allowed an honourable annual stipend or reward by the Congress, the particular amount of which Mr. Deane refers to the honourable Congress.

5. Monsieur Du Coudray shall be furnished with an Adjutant, two Aids-de-Camp, or one Aid-de-Camp, and a Secretary, and Designer, at the expense and in the pay of the United Colonies.

6. Monsieur Du Coudray's expenses, also those of his servants, in their voyage to America, shall be refunded him by the United Colonies.

7. No proceedings shall be had against Monsieur Du Coudray but in the same manner as is established and proceeded in against any other officer who is a native of said Colonies, of the same rank in said service, nor shall he be deprived or deposed from his office, but in consequence of a regular and accustomed proceeding against him.

8. Monsieur Du Coudray having, ever since the first day of August last, been employed in the service of said Colonies in procuring stores, &c., his title and emoluments to commence therefrom.*

9. In explanation of article four, be it remembered that when Mr. Deane left the Congress, "what stipends or rewards to such as were disabled in the service, or might retire," was not settled, and it would be improper in him to make a precedent for them. Further, Monsieur Du Coudray's zeal in entering into this, to him, foreign service, the services he has rendered the United Colonies already in France, and the expected future services in his most important department, will not, in justice, put him in this respect on

* *Agreed to commence on the* 1st *of August, in consideration of his expenses in procuring the Artillery and Stores.*

Signed S. DEANE.

a footing of a native of the United Colonies, but merit a particular consideration, which, on the part of Mr. Deane, will be warmly recommended to the honourable Congress, in whose generosity Monsieur has the fullest confidence.

10. Monsieur Du Coudray will exert himself in despatching the Artillery and Stores agreed on; also will embark himself as early in the season as is consistent with such despatch.

11. Considering the particular situation of Monsieur Du Coudray as a foreigner, and his uncommon exertions for and in behalf of the United Colonies, it is agreed, that his pension or annual stipend on his quitting the service, as afore agreed, shall be the one-half of his pay and table whilst serving, or other equivalent gratification.

12. Horses and carriages will be supplied Monsieur Du Coudray, at the expense of the United Colonies, when he has occasion for removing from one part of the Continent to another; also to the officers proposing to go out with him, or advance to him such sum as will be sufficient to procure them in the Colonies where they are serving.

13. Considering the situation of the American war at this time, Mr. Deane thinks that two Engineers, four Captains, and four Lieutenants, with the proposed Adjutant-General, will be as many as he can prudently agree for at present. Fresh intelligence is hourly expected, which may incline him to increase the number, but he now agrees for those at the rates proposed by Monsieur Du Coudray, viz.: For the Adjutant-General five thousand livres per annum; for the Captains four thousand livres per annum; for the Lieutenants two thousand livres per annum; relying on their being officers which Monsieur Du Coudray can depend on for their skill and experience as well as fidelity in their departments.

14. Mr. Deane will advance to them the one-half of a year's pay at their embarking.

15. At the close of the war they shall be entitled to

the same pension in proportion to their pay as Monsieur Du Coudray, but in this case Mr. Deane thinks they should be held to settle in the United Colonies, to be in the way of future service if called upon.

16. None of the aforesaid officers shall be at liberty to enter the service of any foreign Power, France excepted, without giving up said annual stipend, nor into the service of any Power whatever at war with the United Colonies, unless said Colonies shall refuse to employ them or dismiss them by agreement.

17. The sum advanced to the officers embarking is not to be considered as so much of their pay, and to be by them as such accounted for, but as a full satisfaction for their whole expense during their voyage, and their providing themselves with necessary camp equipage on their arrival. Their pay to commence, independent of this, from the time of their embarkation.

In testimony hereof the contracting parties have hereunto set their hands and seals, this 11th of September, 1776, in the presence of

MONS. DE COUDRAY,
and MR. DEANE.

September 11, 1776.

Force's American Archives, 5th Series, II. 283.

FROM ROBERT MORRIS.

Philadelphia, Sept^{r} 12th, 1776.

SILAS DEANE, Esq^{r}.

SIR,—You will receive herewith Copy of what I wrote you the 11th ult^{o}; by this Conveyance I remit the 2^{d} bills of those setts mentioned in that letter. I have bought a considerable quantity of Tob^{o} but cannot get suitable Vessells to carry it; you cannot conceive the many Disappointments we have met with in that respect, however I expect a ship is now taking in about 400 hhds, as I wrote two Posts ago, agreeing to the Owner's Terms, and shall advise you more particularly in my

next respecting this matter. I am sorry to tell you another Vessell bound from hence to Bourdeaux with a Cargo of flour, &c. has been taken & carryed into N. York with the Fleet; this was a fine new Brig[t] intended as a packet between us; she had Dispatches for you which were thrown overboard & sunk by the Captain, as were the Invoices &c. of the Cargoe; these unlucky accidents retard the Remittances greatly, which is vexatious but cannot be helped. I hope your Credit has been sufficient to procure the Indian Goods and that they are on their way out, for they will be much wanted and we shall not give over remitting until you are fully enabled to pay for them; I expect a Cargo of Rice & Indigo is now shipping on this account as orders have been given to that Effect, but still the same difficulty about Vessells occurs in that quarter also. So many of the American Ships have been taken, lost, sold & employed abroad that they are now very scarce in every part of the Continent, which I consider as a great misfortune, as Ship Building does not go on as formerly, and this want can only be supplyed by the Arrival of Ships from Europe and by the Captures in which all the American Cruizers have been remarkably successful; those who have engaged in privateering are making vast Fortunes in a most rapid manner; I have not meddled in this business which, I confess, does not square with my principles, for I have long had extensive Connections & Dealings with many worthy men in England and cou'd not consent to take any part of their property because the Government has seized mine which is the case in several Instances.

The Trading plan recommended in my last is far more eligible, and if we have but luck in getting the Goods safe to America the Profits will be sufficient to content us all. I do therefore continue my Recommendation of that plan, and sincerely hope you and Tom may be able to do something considerable therein, for you may depend it will reward you beyond any other pursuit, if you can procure Ins. at any reasonable

premium, even at 50 pr C^{t} (altho I don't really think the risque worth 15 pr C^{t}). I think you had best charter two or three good double decked fast Sailing Vessells, ballast or load them with Salt in the Hold, and put on b^{d} of each as many Dry Goods, say Woollens, Linnens, Tin, Copper, Hosiery, &c., &c., as you can conveniently obtain, & let them proceed immediately for this place, Insuring the Value of the Cargoes on the best Terms you can against the risque of Capture by our Enemies as well as against all other risques & Dangers; I mean that you sho^{d} charter French Vessells and by clearing them out for S^{t} Piers & Migueton, they may sail along this Coast without being subject to capture untill they come within three Leagues of the Land. You must take care that the ships are sound, strong, staunch, and that they are well fitted and manned, two Suits of Sails & good Anchors & Cables they ought to have; tell the Masters when they come on this Coast to venture close in with the Land, as our N° Westers in Winter will keep them out a long time if they keep without or in the Gulph Stream, whereas if they come within it nothing but an Easterly Wind can hurt them, and these Winds do not prevail much in Winter. When they come in sight of our Light House they must hoist an Ensign at the Fore Top Gallant Mast Head and stand in for the Mouth of the Bay with it flying. If there is any Enemy or Danger in the way a Signal will be made at the Light House by shewing Colours; if no Danger, they will not answer the signal and the Vessells may come boldly into the Mouth of the Bay or into Whore Kiln Road and send a Boat on shoar at Lewis Town for a Pilot.

In short, I think there is very little danger in all this matter, for the Men of War cannot keep the Coast and we will not, let them harbour here in the Winter Season. You shou'd charter the Vessells out here & back again, so that you may afford them a good freight, and we will load them back with wheat, flour, Tob°, Rice, Indigo, Bees Wax, &c. to pay for the Cost of the Cargoes you

ship by them ; besides these Vessells I woud have you keep sending out Goods to Martinico, S^t^. Eustatia & Cape Francois, but the first & last are safest for the present and will continue so unless the French become parties in our War, which I think very likely, and then the Dutch Islands must engross our attention. At S^t^. Eustatia M^r^. Corn^s^. Stevenson, at Curracoa M . Isaac Governeur will receive & forward Goods for us ; at Cape Francois M^r^. Stephen Ceronio, at S^t^. Nicholas Mole M^r^. John Dupuy, at Martinico William Bingham Esq^r^, who has already written you some letters, and with whom I expect you will support a constant Correspondence both political & Commercial ; he is a young Gent^n^ of good Education, Family & Fortune ; his Correspondence has yet a good deal of the fanciful young man in it, but Experience will cure him of this, and upon the whole, I think he has abilities & merit, both in the Political & Commercial Line. You will inform him soon as you can, whether Insurances can be effected on Goods & Vessells from the French Islands to the Continent, & on what Terms; indeed we expect to hear from you pretty regularly through that Channell.

I wou'd make you some Remittances in advance towards the purchase of the Goods I recommended your shipping, but having already engaged pretty extensively in that way with M^r^. Ross and others who have not the advantage of a public character to recommend them, I am obliged to remit them what Bills I can collect on my House's private account in order to support their pursuits, and it is not necessary with you, because I have no doubt but Tom & you together will be able to establish the needful Credit ; that once obtained you may depend I will enable you to support it, by making ample & speedy Remitt^ae,^ and when freed from other Engagements, I shall have no objection to lodge Funds for ready money purchases.

I have had some doubts in my own mind whether it will [be] best for Tom to attend the Political Pursuits, or to fix him as a Merchant in some one of the Ports.

I believe it will be in my power to do well for him in either way, but particularly in the latter, which is the most independent, and on that acco[t] the most honourable station according to my mind; yet if he has the Talents to become useful in a publick character I should have no objection, and will therefore leave the matter open untill I hear from him & you on the subject; your candid opinion of this & all other matters relative to him shall be very thankful to you for, in the mean time I intend to direct some Cargoes of this Country Produce to be Consigned to him or his order, that if he inclines to sit down as a Merchant he may begin immed'y, if otherwise he can put them into proper hands for sale, &c.

Since my last Gen[l]. Howe & his army have taken possession of Long Island, leaving about 4 or 5,000 men on Staten Island, where they first landed. We had some Works & about 6,000 men on Long Island when the Enemy landed with 20 m̄ men. A skirmish very soon followed the Landing there. About 3,000 of our men went out of the Lines to take possession of some Hills & High Lands, but the Enemy out Generalled us & surrounded our people with four times their Number; however they purchased the Honour of the day at a very dear rate, for our folks drew up & gave them Battle, and two different times broke & routed double their Number in fair maneuvering & platoon Firing in the open Field, but in the End superior Numbers & superior Generalship prevailed. We lost about 7 or 800 men in killed, wounded, & Prisoners; the Enemy's loss was far greater in killed & wounded, as they acknowledge, but not so in Prisoners, for we only took one party a Lieu[t]. & 30 men. Sullivan commanded in the affair, and was well seconded by Lord Sterling, who behaved nobly indeed. They are both Prisoners, as are several Colo. and Lieu[t].-Colo[s]. and other officers—in short, such Victories as these alarm our Enemies, and will be their Ruin. We have evacuated Long Island, & must do the same by New York, which is not tenable

against their ships. For my part I wish our men & stores were all removed to Kings Bridge, where we must sooner or later take post & make the Grand Stand. We are no ways dismayed at the Force of the Enemy, but have full Hopes of getting the better of them in the long Run, altho they seem very formidable at present. Our army on the Lakes is now very strong, and we seem perfectly secure in that quarter for the present. I find I must write you another Letter by this Convey^e., which will not sail so soon as I expected, and for the present shall only add that I am very truly, Sir,

affect. Friend & hble Servant,

ROB^T. MORRIS.

Thomas Mss.

FROM EDWARD BANCROFT.

D^R. SIR,—I am disappointed by not receiving anything from you this Post. I sent your Seal as promised last Saturday by. M^r. Ferguson. We are still here without any advices of the Operations at New York. I do indeed suspect that the Ministry have heard of Lord Howe's arrival there, though it is probable they have heard of no Military Operations of consequence. M^r. Long, Chairman of the West India Merchants Committee, lately went up to Lord G. Germaine with a list of 26 West India ships taken by the Provincials, and a strong representation from the Merchants on that subject; he was promised sufficient Convoy in future. In the course of conversation M^r. D'Oyley, Lord George's Secretary, said that he hoped no News would arrive from New York in a fortnight, as in that Case he should think Lord Howe to be Negociating with the Congress. Hearing of this, I mentioned it to a friend of mine who is connected with Lord Suffolk. He had occasion to see his Lordship the day after, & asked him whether [the] Administration had any reason to believe Lord Howe to be Negociating with the Colonies. To this Lord Suffolk answered in the negative; he said that

Lord Howe went out with the most Sanguine desires to effect a reconciliation, but that there was no reason to believe the Colonists would be equally sanguine in meeting his desires; on the contrary, he said that all the intelligence received by Government strongly imported that the Colonists would be averse from Conciliation. You will not be surprised at the Contradiction between this & Mr. D'Oyley's Expression: the one was given out to be reported to the Merchants, & by them again propagated to encourage fallacious hopes; the other was a Confidential effusion of Truth. Five or six Vessels have lately arrived from Quebec for Provisions, of which that Province is destitute, & large quantities will be wanted there during the Winter. Genl Carlton is disgusted at being ordered to continue within his own Province & resign the Command to Burgoyne when the army goes beyond the limits of it, which they will not be in any condition to attempt doing (let their exertions be ever so great) before the middle of Septr., and I much doubt whether they will even attempt it this Season. Mr. Livius, for his officious Zeal at Quebec last Winter, is appointed Chief Justice of that Province in the room of Mr. Hey, a member of Parliament here. When Mr. Hey called on Lord G. Germain to enquire into the reason of his supercission, Lord George said it was for no fault, but that there was a necessity of sending out a Commission to Canada to try the Rebel Prisoners there; that Lord North had intimated that Mr. Hey would not like to return again to Quebec; that it was necessary that the Chief Justice should be present to open the Commission; and that the King was particularly desirous of having it done by Mr. Livius. All this I had from Mr. Hey himself. The reason of his Majestie's predilection to Mr. Livius is said to be, that a Letter from him to Bamber Gascoigne, a Lord of Trade, was shewn to the King, in which Mr. Livius very particularly and vauntingly recounts his Zealous exertions in his Majestie's service, states the Fatigues & Hardships he suffered during the Siege of Quebec,

and says that on the Night in which Montgomery was killed he himself made four of the Rebels Prisoners; but that he should be much better pleased to preside at their Trials, and to give a proper charge to a Jury on the subject of Treason; this last wish is said to have done his Business. I cannot, however, persuade myself that they will have the Temerity to execute any person under this Commission, at least not whilst the success of their Arms remains doubtful.

I formerly wrote you that the Duke of Grafton was this week to make an attempt on Lord Weymouth. He did it last Wednesday between 3 & 4 o'clock in the afternoon. He asked Lord Weymouth if [the] Ministry did not Know that Mr. Deane a member & probably a Deputy of the Congress was in Paris. Lord Weymouth answered "the Papers are full of it." The Duke then put these questions, viz.: "Do not Administration know that he goes often to Versailles, probably to see the French Ministry? do they not know that several French officers have offered him their services to go to America and that some are gone or going there which could not be done without the leave of Government? Do they not know that a quantity of Arms have been lately sent to Nantes for the Congress; and that these were Arms which had been intended for the French Troops?" To the two first of these Questions Lord Weymouth only answered by asking if the Duke had reason to believe such things, and to the last he only answered by asking if the Arms were sailed. He then generally said that these things if true were directly contrary to all the assurances received from the French Court; that with respect to the sincerity of those assurances it was difficult to be ascertained. The Duke replied that their Sincerity might easily be ascertained if Government would make an Experiment for that purpose, & require the French Court to order Mr. Deane to leave France. To this Lord Weymouth said Nothing, and the Duke probably only intended to lead the ministry into a scrape, by urging them to a Demand which

France certainly would not comply with & thereby hasten a rupture, or a Change of Ministers. The Duke afterwards told Lord Weymouth that he was certain of the Hostile intentions of France ; that it particularly became Lord Weymouth to look to these things as being immediately within his own department; that nothing could prevent national ruin but an instant reconciliation with the Colonies ; and that if this administration would be neglected he, the Duke, would charge him with the Neglect in Parliament. Lord Weymouth however, continued reserved & only asked the Duke s consent to repeat the conversation to the King, which consent the Duke gave, but intimated that the King must not expect to know from whom he had received the intelligence respecting France, that it was sufficient to know it to be authentic, that Lord Weymouth himself could not doubt its authenticity when he assured him, as he did, that it was from the same person by whom, when Minister he (the Duke) had been privately furnished with intelligence respecting occurrences in France, and on the strength of which he had several times, and particularly once in the presence of the Duke of Bridgewater (respecting Falkland Islands) supported opinions in opposition to the erroneous opinions of all the rest of the King's Ministers, who reasoned on the intelligence procured by Public money in other channels.

Since writing the preceding, I have been with a friend whose veracity I can rely on ; and who tells me some particulars which it becomes you to know, viz., That D^{r}. Williamson, of Pennsylvania, who came over hither with M^{r}. Ewing, and who (though ostensibly a zealous American) is secretly a Spy in the service of Government, and has been in Holland some time, collecting intelligence, is now arrived for the same purpose in Paris; that by yesterday's mail Letters were brought from him to administration which contained some things respecting you and me ; that he besides wrote to a ministerial Gentleman here, and acquainted

him that I had lived and been very intimate with you in Paris; that I doubtless must be concerned in your Proceedings whatever they might be, and that I ought to be watched &c. &c. for the sake of Detecting Correspondence & making Discoveries; & this he recommended to have immediately done. The Gentleman desirous of complying with this injunction went to a friend of mine, to consult with him respecting my connections and the best mode of complying with Dr. Williamson's wishes & this Friend has revealed the matter to me. You will remember that I told you in Paris, that Col. Mercer had lately obtained a Pension, as Lieut. Govr of North Carolina; unprecedented as such Grants are, he has the audacity openly to declare himself a friend of the Colonies, though he is also a Spy in the service of Government. He, too, is sent to Paris to make discoveries respecting you; he was strongly recommended to the assistance of Lord Stormont, and though he arrived in Paris but last Saturday, he was three times with his Lordship between that day & Monday Evening, when Lord Stormont's Messenger (by whom my intelligence was brought) came away. Col. Mercer has been formerly connected with Ponchaud, the Banker, in Paris; with Count Taase, & another Irish Count, and with a person who lately delivered to the French Court a Proposal for raising Tobacco in the Bourbonnais, but whose name I forget; & through these or some other Engines he will endeavour to penetrate into your Business, by endeavouring to engage you in some communicative project, perhaps that of speculating in the funds may be thought of by them. These instances will shew you the necessity of your utmost circumspection; you will doubtless be assailed in all manner of Shapes & Forms & with every kind of Artifice, and I can not but own that I think your situation is not altogether to be envied. I shall however spare no pains to discover & apprise you of the Danger which you may be exposed to from time to

time. All that can be done without money, I am constantly doing, and indeed from my connections I am able to do much more without it, than most persons could even with an allowance for Secret Services, as liberal as the Powers of Europe generally make to their Ministers. I have meditated a good deal on the business recommended in the Postscript of your last Letter, but foresee some difficulty & much danger in it; besides you have not sufficiently explained the way in which you mean to execute the project, at least so far as to enable me to judge what is necessary to be done, barely the time of ——. I think I could with some expence & a little Hazzard find out, but disasters happening afterwards to —— would involve the enquirer in dangerous suspicions. I do not think any Dispatches of Consequence will go from hence to America, until something of importance arrives from thence; when this happens it will be necessary for administration to make new Plans & arrangements united to those Events. Sat verbum. Be however a little more particular, whether the business is to be done on Land or water. Pray do English Cruizers watch the Southern Ports of France? I should expect they will now keep a good look out there. Clinton's army, I know from Private Letters, was greatly affected by the Scurvy, having been many months without Fresh meat or Vegetables. Some Transports of the first division were also lost in getting over Charles Town Bar. I this night heard that Gov^{t} have by way of Holland received some intelligence that two of their Ships of War had passed up the North River above New York; but cannot answer for this news. Certain it is, however, that they are looking forward to another Campaign in America; and endeavouring to secure more Troops to be sent thither early next Spring; they have likewise sent out many recruits from this Kingdom and Ireland during the Summer, Scarce one Transport having sailed without a number of them, so that their army will ultimately be more

numerous than has been imagined. If France ever means to take a part in the Dispute, she must surely do it soon, for if America is to resist the whole Force of Great Britain another year, they may as well resist it forever; and save all obligation to any foreign Power. If you wrote the proposed Letter to be intercepted, the Event must have happened, as none is come to Hand. I wish if it be not very inconvenient that you would let me hear from you (though it should be but little) once every week, as I have great anxiety respecting your Safety & Welfare; how long I may be safe & quiet here I really do not know; there are so many rascals sollicitous to recommend themselves to Government by Tale bearing, that if they can get no intelligence, they may perhaps forge Lies, & throw me out of that State of Security in which I had imagined myself to be.

Adieu, my Dear Friend!

London, Sept^{r} 13th, 1776.

Endorsed: Edward Bancroft Lett^{r}, 13th Sep^{r}, 1776, rec^{d} pr. hand of Royal Courier.

Thomas Mss.

From Edward Bancroft.

Dear Sir,—I hope you have by this time received my two Letters of Last Fryday (in different Channels). I have since had several very interesting conversations with M^{r}. G—— and there are many important reasons which render me desirous of a Conference with you. It is even not impossible that I may set out for Paris next Fryday, provided I hear from you on that day & provided nothing occurs to require my stay here. I would indeed much rather that it were convenient for you to meet me either at Calais or Dieppe, but this I am sensible must not be until after what you are expecting shall have come to hand; if when this happens you will immediately resolve to divide the way

between us, and will give me notice of your intention I shall be in readiness instantly to attend your appointments. I would not give you so much trouble were it not expedient to conceal my going to the Continent whenever it happens (to avoid improper suspicions) and the shorter my absence proves, the more easy will it be to effect Concealment. Pray let me know your opinion on this subject speedily. I have heard here that a Memorial from some of the French Islands is sent to the French Court complaining of a Want of Provisions &c. by reason of the Captures made by the English Cruizers, of American Vessels, & something of this has also appeared in our Papers; can you inform me whether it be true or not. Nothing respecting General, or Lord Howe is yet known here.

I am in haste D^r^. Sir
Your most affectionate
& Devoted Humble Serv^t^.

London,
Sept^r^. 16, 1776.

Endorsed, Sept^r^. 16^th^, 1776, London, Lett^r^ from E. B. Esq^r^. rec'd 21^st^, at Paris.

Thomas Mss.

To Messrs. Delap.

Paris, Septemb^r^. 17^th^, 1776.

D^r^. Sir,—By yours of the 10^th^. ins^t^. I find Morgan was gone without the Salt Petre, but that you hourly expected it. I trust it is by this arriv'd. The total silence of my friends in America, has well-nigh distracted me, & derang'd my whole proceedings; however, tir'd with waiting for what is probably still distant, I must proceed as well as is within my power. I observe that the 2 Sloops are one of them 70 & the other 50 Tons, & that they are good sailors & may be ready at a short warning. I would advise, as in a former letter, that you dispatch Hutcheson with the

goods order'd; even if they come something higher than the directions it cannot be avoided & necessity knows no Law. In a word, the goods must be had if possible. —As to the Salt Petre, I wish you to mark as before directed, Ten tonns S. D. & ship the one half in Hutcheson & the other half in Sarly as ballast. The one half as well of the ten tonns in each, as also the one half of the whole. The forty Tonns are for the Congress. You will also ship the Sulphur in the same proportion. Inclosed you have an order for twelve tonns of Powder, or more if wanted. I would therefore have you put 8 Tonns of it on board of Hutchenson, which with the Salt Petre and the Woolens you will procure on the orders from L L & A. will compleat the Cargo for Hutchinson. I would advise Hutchinson taking a few swivels with him & small arms, as many as the People can manage to advantage for keeping off armed boats, & that he sail as soon as possible for America. I would advise his taking with him French Papers, if to be had on tolerable terms, for a cover and to appear as if bound for Martinique. —The Letters sent to Hutchinson's care are all to be destroy'd if he should be taken, except that to M^r. Jay which he is to preserve & if possible deliver, as it will not appear to be of any consequence and may possibly not be detained. As you say nothing of Hutchinson in your last, should he have sailed before this arrives, you will in that case shipp the Salt Petre & the whole of the twelve Tonns of Powder & also the Sulphur in Sarly, arming and directing him as above. I set out on Sunday next for Rouen, and shall dispatch another person a different way to purchase the Indian goods as far as they can be procur'd & I shall, if procur'd, freight a part of them in M^c. Crery's brig^a. & in Sarly, but the reasons of my delaying in these affairs has been my hopes of a convoy which I have now a prospect of, being in Treaty with a Merchant for a fifty Gun ship now at Nantes ready for the sea. Meantime I wish Hutchinson or Sarly to be instantly

dispatched with the powder & Salt Petre which are of consequence as are my letters. I have wrote Monsieur Broquieur and inclosed his letter to you which you will deliver him ; I shall by no means neglect him, tho' my dependance here is on persons more able to assist me & my cause. I send my letter to him by you, as it will be much in our way, both yours & mine, to cultivate his acquaintance. Please, in your next Letters to Lisbon, to urge dispatch from the house of Parr and Buckley. As I shall be glad to make immediately, as large a payment as possible for the Indian Goods, I hope you may obtain papers ostensibly French, for those two sloops, as every thing will be made as easy as possible on the part of the Crown Officers. The whole Cargo is to be directed to M^r^. Morris if it arrive at Philadelphia, to Mess^rs^. Alsop Livingston & Lewis if at New York, & they will send the Ten tonn for my Brothers use for me. If you ship any goods in the Sloop, pray give me a short account in your next, what they are. My advice to the Capt^n^. is either to stand for New London or some of the New England harbors, or go as far Southward as Indian River which is a little South of Cape Henlopen. Pray write M^r^. Morris the state of Marketts with you. I shall write him by this, & having many letters to write by this opportunity must be excus'd adding to this save my respects to Miss Delap, & that I shall write you again next Post.

I am, mean time, D^r^. Sir with Esteem,
Your very much oblig'd Friend & Serv^t^.,
S. DEANE.

My Compliments to Sir Robert Finley. I received his letter & shall write him next post.

To Mess^rs^. Sam^l^. & J. H. Delaps, Merch^ts^, Bordeaux d^e^ Paris.

Thomas Mss.

To Robert Morris.

Bordeaux, September 17, 1776.

Dear Sir,—I shall send you, in October, clothing for twenty thousand men, thirty thousand fusils, one hundred tons of powder, two hundred brass cannon, twenty-four brass mortars, with shells, shot, lead, &c., in proportion.

I am to advise you that if, in future, you will give commissions to seize Portuguese ships, you may depend on the friendship and alliance of Spain. Let me urge this measure. Much may be got, nothing can be lost, by it. Increase, at all events, your Navy. I will procure, if commissioned, any quantity of sail-cloth and cordage.

A general war is undoubtedly at hand in Europe, and consequently America will be safe, if you baffle the arts and arms of the two Howes through the Summer. Every one here is in your favour.

Adieu! I will write again next week.

Silas Deane.

To Robert Morris.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev. I. 40.

From Caron De Beaumarchais.

Paris ce 18 7^{bre} 1776.

Si vous voulez me faire l'honneur, Monsieur, de venir aujourdui manger une soupe, la personne dont je vous ai parlé l'autre soir s'y trouvera et nous entamerons l'affaire des navires a fret dont les conditions nous seront présentées. Si elles sont telles qu'on me les fait envisager, je crois que vous ne devés pas hesiter. Mon cautionement etant la premiere clause exigée, l'affaire ne peut se traiter d'abord que chez moi. Mandés moi si vous vous rendrés a mon invitation, pour que j'en previenne cette personne et la prie d'apporter le plan qu'elle a tracé a cet egard.

Quant aux officiers et a leur traitement, je suis toujours d'avis que si vous les croyes utile au service du

Congrés, ce n'est pas un peu plus ou moins d'argent qui doit vous retenir. le choix est bon et l'on ne peut guerre engager de Braves gens de s'expatrier, si on ne leur offre un peu plus d'avantages qu'ils n'en auraient en restant dans leurs païs. L'idée seule de marchander m' a parue revolter le chef. Peutetre M. de Bellegarde eut il eté plus modest; mais autre qu'il est bien difficile de l'arracher d'ou il est, celui ci est plus jeune, plus active et dans les expéditions de la nature de celle cy, les gens qui ont la têtes et le cour chaude me paraissent préférable a tout. Cette affair aussi doit se terminer a mon diner. Je me retournerai de tant de façons que j'espère faire face a l'affrètement mais, après cela, priés donc le vent qui souffle de nous amener quelques cargaisons de tabac, car je serai a sec.

Si vous avés des nouvelles d' Amérique, apportés vous les, je vous prie. Nous avons besoin de savoir qu'on y est fidele a la cause de la liberté, pour soutenir l'ardeur que cette belle cause nous inspire.

Je vous souhaite le bon jour et vous attens avec tout l'attachement que vous connaissés a votre très humble et très obeissant Serviteur

CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS
qui nous nommerons bientot
Roderique Hortalez et Cie.

M. Silas Deane.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

TRANSLATION.

Paris, 18th September, 1776.

If you will do me the honor, Sir, to take pot luck with me to-day, the person whom I mentioned to you the other evening will be present, and we will take up the matter of vessels for freighting, upon the terms then to be submitted to us. If these are the same that have been shown me, I believe that you ought not to hesitate.

My guarantee being the first condition, the business cannot now be transacted elsewhere than at my house.

Let me know whether you accept my invitation, that I may inform the person and request him to bring his proposals.

In regard to the officers and their salaries, I am still of the opinion that if you think them fit for the service of Congress, a little money more or less ought not to occasion delay. The selection is good, and one can hardly expect to induce excellent men to expatriate themselves unless somewhat better conditions are offered them than they might obtain by staying at home.

The mere idea of haggling seemed to me to disgust their leader. Monsieur de Bellegarde might have been less exacting, but without considering that it is quite difficult to take him from his present position, the latter is younger and more active, and in expeditions of this nature, warm heads and hearts appear to me preferable to all others. I will so exert myself as to meet, I hope, the freighting charges, but after that, pray the wind to blow us over a few cargoes of tobacco for I shall be without resource.

If you have any advices from America, bring them, I beg of you. We need to know if they remain true to liberty, in order to sustain our own ardor, inspired by a glorious cause. I wish you good day, and await you with all that devotion of which you are aware in

Your most humble and obedient servant,

CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS,
whom we will presently call
Roderique Hortalez and Co.

FROM EDWARD BANCROFT.

DEAR SIR,—On Tuesday last I wrote a few lines for you, and have since heard that an armed Vessel is arrived at Nantes, which left Philadelphia in company with several others on the 8th of August last, that in coming down the River they met six valuable

Prizes going up, and some of them laden with Ordonance Stores. If this be true, I think you must have received dispatches from America, and am therefore very impatient for a Letter from you. Whether I am to receive one this week or not I shall not know at soonest until Evening. I was indeed with M^r. G—— this morning, but his messenger was not then arrived, though momently expected; but having some reason to suppose that I am watched, we agreed that hereafter neither of us should call at the other's house except in the Evening, when it is less likely to be known.

Administration are certainly full of disagreeable apprehensions respecting France, and not a little depressed at the Prospects of their affairs in America, which they can now hardly expect ever to Conquer, though our wicked refugee Countrymen still Labour to encourage & instigate them to go on; but for the Councils of these Wretches things never would have gone thus far, & no punishment can be sufficient for the execrable malignity with which they are still urging the Destruction of our Country. Happily their wishes will not be accomplished. The Ministry pretend to be wholly ignorant of the Fate of Lord Howe & of the Hessians, &c. They say that his Lordship certainly was not arrived at New York on the 28^th^ of July. You will see by the Papers that a Total end is put to Lord Dunmore's Piratical Depredations; many hundreds of the Whites & Negroes which he had assembled being cut of by sickness; above twenty of his Vessels taken or burnt, and the rest all dispersed & removed from that part of the Continent. So may the Enemies of America always prosper. The distresses of Barbadoes have extorted a very Lamentable Petition from the people of that Island, and a Gentleman is arrived here from Bermudas with a Memorial stating the incapacity of that Island to subsist without Provisions from the United Colonies, and intimating that if the Bermudians are not permitted to Bring Provisions from thence without interruption from British

Cruizers, it will be necessary for them to ask both Subsistence & Protection from the Congress. I hope this measure will not Frustrate a certain project which seems now more than ever expedient, & of which I believe there is not yet the smallest apprehension here.

From Quebec I hear that all attempts to Transport the Vessels sent out from hence, over the Falls of Chamblee in to Lake Champlain (by the help of Machines called Cammels) have proved fruitless, and that early in August it was found necessary to build Vessels on the Lake to Convoy Burgoyne's Army to Crownpoint, and that for this purpose all the Ship Carpenters in Canada were called together ; and as this business will doubtless employ them until winter, we may, I think, make ourselves easy respecting the Operations in that Province. It is at last agreed that Parliament shall meet the 30th of October, and a Proclamation for that Purpose will appear in tomorrow Evening's Gazette. What speech the King will deliver I cannot conceive. I had his morning a visit from Mr. Hartley wishing to know what measures the Colonies would chuse to have their Friends in Parliament pursue this Session. I answered that I could not tell, and that I thought it of but little Consequence ; that the Dominion of the Colonies would never be regained by Great Britain ; that she had nothing to do but quietly relinquish that Dominion without loss of time, & by this she might preserve some Commercial Priviledges which else would be unalterably allotted to other Nations. I mentioned on Tuesday my desire of seeing you, and I shall, unless particularly prevented, leave town for that purpose next Fryday, and if you do not by that time acquaint me of some intermediate Place of meeting, I shall go on to Paris. I have much to Communicate, but will defer it all till I see you in person : only this, if any Overtures from any of the Duc de Choiseul's Friends should be made you, it will be prudent to discourage them all. If I find any thing

from you in the hands of M^{r}. G——, to whom I am now going, I shall answer it this Evening by a Second Letter.

I am D^{r}. Sir, Your most affectionate
& Devoted Humble Servant.

London,
Fryday Evening [Sept. 20, 1776].

N. B. Gen^{l}. Carlton has sent all the Savages who were going against the Colonies back to their own Homes.

Endorsed, London, Sep^{t}. 1776. E. B., Esq^{r}. Letter rec^{d}. at Paris, Sep^{t}. 25, 1776.

Thomas Mss.

Memoire of Silas Deane,

To the French Foreign Office.

The contest between Great Brittain and the United Colonies, when considered with all its Necessary Consequences, is one of the most important that ever engaged the Attention of Europe.

On the issue depends, whether Great Brittain shall at once become Absolute in North America over Territory as large as all Europe, abounding in every Necessary for the Support of Man, already inhabited by more than Three Million of European dependants & Europeans, and rapidly increasing in Population, Agriculture, Arts, and Commerce, & remain possessed of all the advantages & superiority necessarily consequent on such Acquisition ; or the United Colonies, by supporting their independance, deprive Great Brittain of the means of reducing the whole of America to its absolute Subjection, also thereby deprive them of the monopoly of a Trade which alone can support that Superiority of Marine, long since formidable to the Maritime powers in Europe.

The British Administration which formed the design of becoming Absolute in America, and their Successors in Office, have been sensible of the importance of the Object, and through a Twelve years' dispute have kept it constantly in View. Though at times they appeared wholly to recede from and renounce those claims of rights over the Colonies on which alone such Dominion would be founded & supported, they at the same Time, by general & insidious expressions, covered or labored to cover their design of prosecuting such claims the first favorable moment that should present itself. Nay, presuming on the well known Confidence which the Colonies had ever reposed in their Sovereign, the British Ministers pledg'd the royal Word to the Colonies that no future Taxes should be laid on them, or claims revived which had occasioned Uneasiness in the Colonies, and from the exercise of which the British Administration then receeded; yet in the very same Session of Parliament contrived to have Acts passed Tenfold more fatal in their Consequences than those before complained of and repealed, and tending directly to the very same purpose, just before Solemnly disavowed by the Minister in behalf of his Sovereign. On the other side the Colonies, from the open and unexpected Attacks made on their Liberties by their fellow subjects of Great Brittain in Parliament, immediately after the close of the last Warr, became sufficiently aroused from that unsuspicious state of confidence and security, which an uninterrupted Friendship & intercourse of the Kindest Offices for a Century & an half had fixed them, to be extremely attentive to every motion of British Administration in Parliament; & consequently by the Resolutions & Acts, by the Declarations & Protests of their colonial Assemblies or Parliament, and by their loyal and dutiful petitions to the Throne for the Royal interposition, they opposed strenuously and from the first every attempt made against them.

After a dispute of twelve years, in which, though

it took various Turns, and appeared in various points of Light in Consequence of the number of ingenious Speakers & writers on both sides the Question, it is worthy of Observation that the Colonies were never once charged with denying to the Crown of Great Brittain the same Constitutional Authority in the Colonies, as in the Kingdom of Great Brittain itself, and the object of the dispute always terminated in the right of a Parliament composed of the Representatives of free Subjects in Great Brittain over their free and fellow—but unrepresented—subjects in America. In so long a dispute Volumes have been written. The very History would be tedious. It is sufficient to say that the Parliament on one side asserted a right to bind the Colonies in all cases whatever; on the other the Colonies intituled to the rights and immunities of the British Constitution maintained that consistent therewith they could be bound by no Acts whatever passed without their Consent, and in a Parliament in which they had no Representative.

On this both parties joined in issue, and the subject being exhausted without Conviction, the King of Great Brittain lent the power of the Crown to Support the Claims of the British Parliament, on which was suddenly made the last & most solemn Appeal from Argument to Arms. The United Colonies joined the Appeal and the important issue is still depending. That the Commercial Powers in Europe, particularly France & Spain, are deeply interested in the Event, is too evident to require being enlarged on. Great Brittain is sensible of it, and whilst its Ministers are searching every Corner of Europe for mercenaries in her Cause, and exerting every Nerve of National Wealth and power to terminate the dispute as soon as possible, they are using every Artifice to prejudice the United Colonies in the Eyes of Europe, particularly of France and Spain; To misrepresent the Nature as well as the probable, the almost unavoidable, issue of the Controversy. Great Brittain had not the con-

fidence to expect the Active Assistance of Powers which for Centuries She had uniformly insulted and abused. But its Ministers well know if they can lull these powers into Security and inattention as to the Event, or prejudice them so farr against the Colonies as to hinder any intercourse by way of Commerce, they will then have a prospect of reducing the Colonies to their designs by Conquest, or by compromise, either of which will enable Great Brittain to effect her enormously ambitious Views, and give the Commerce of both France and Spain a Blow too fatal even to need repeating.

When the Controversy first began to engage the Attention of other Powers, the Language of Great Brittain was, "*Our Colonies are not generally dissatisfied. The disturbances in them are only in Consequence of the Clamors of a few factious Demagogues and will soon subside of themselves, as a Vast Majority of the better Orders of People are Satisfied with our Government & heartily detest the proceedings of the licentious Mob, and despise and abhor their Leaders and their Characters.*"

Language like this, so farr as credited, must draw pity for the misled few, & detestation on the demagogues, their Leaders. The dignity and Authority of the Person and persons making such a declaration doubtless gained a general belief in Europe. In Great Britain it most certainly did, in Confidence of which the Parliament preceeded to pass Acts the most Arbitrary and Oppressive which ever disgraced a State where the last form of Justice or humanity were preserved; Acts not only depriving the Colonies of every right and privilege of British Subjects, but even of the Common and undisputed rights of human Nature.

Alarmed at this, all the Colonies united in their Opposition, and when their Unanimity had given the strongest Contradiction to the former Declarations respecting their Temper & disposition, another Stile was adopted. "*A Rebellious disposition has appeared*

in some of the Colonies," say the Speech from the Throne ; this was partly to Countenance former Declarations, and partly by their fixing in reality on the whole of the Colonies, the Odious Epithets of Rebellion & Rebels to prepare the minds of the public not to be surprized, or shocked, at the Bloody Scenes then preparing ; and in the meantime the most confident Assertions both in Parliament & out were constantly made, that the Colonies would submit on the first exertions of coercive measures. The worst has Shewn this Assertion to be as groundless as every one of the preceeding : The History of the last Campaign in America is well known, as is the formidable preparations of Great Brittain during the last Winter & Spring to open the present "*with such Vigor as should* (to use the favorite expression of the Ministers) *look all Opposition into the most unconditional Submission*"; how farr Events differing from what have uniformly happened hitherto may justify this last Assertion the public will soon know. Meantime, after this Short Sketch of History, it is proper to Observe the different Assertions of Great Brittain—The Ground on which they are founded—The End which they are designed to Answer—The probability of what is Asserted taking place or the Contrary—The Consequences which in either case must follow,—And how Absolutely it is in the power of France, at this critical period, to command those Events so as to promote her own Interest & happiness, to a degree attainable by scarce any other possible occurrencies in human Affairs, and in the same proportion to humble and reduce the Pride and Arrogance of her old hereditary Enemy.

The first Assertion on the part of Great Brittain is, the Colonies are in open Rebellion and the Inhabitants are to be treated as Rebels. The Epithet of Rebel is as significant in political, as that of Heretic is in religious disputes, and the person supposed to deserve either, must be held as very obnoxious to Society, but

it is not uncommon to use hard names in disputes merely for want of better Weapons. The term Rebel has generally been applied to such as have conspired against their Lawful Prince, to oppose, to Murther or dethrone him; in Governments purely monarchical it can extend to no others, and in such Governments it is justly confessed to be a Crime of the most heinous Nature. In mixed Governments, such as that of Great Brittain (to carry the inquiry no farther), the person who Attempts to dethrone the Lawful prince, which is meant in this instance and peculiarly in that Nation, one who having received the Crown on Condition of governing according to the known & established Constitution, and sworn thereto, acts agreeable to such his Engagements; Or the person who attempts by force of Arms or other ways to subvert the Established Constitution; such a person and no other deserves the Character & is justly liable to the Pains & penalties of Rebellion. Whither the British Constitution is the most or the least preferable of the various Governments now existing is farr from being the present Object of inquiry. This Definition is allowed by themselves to be just, so farr as it relates to their Constitution, and they must not presume to try those whom they call subjects by any other. Have the United Colonies attempted to dethrone their Prince? Have they even treated his Person with disrespect through a twelve years' Controversy (in which indeed he ever appeared partially inclined in favor of their fellow Subjects of Great Brittain)? Directly the reverse; they have constantly beseiged the Throne with the most loyal and dutiful Petitions and Addresses. After the Sword was drawn, and two Severe Battles fought, the United Colonies in full Congress joined in Petitioning the Throne for the royal interposition between the Contending Subjects, and to mediate an honorable & permanent Peace. Their Petitions would fill Volumes and the professions of Loyalty in them were never called in question by the King of Great Brittain.

Have the United Colonies attempted the subvertion of the British Constitution? When a British Subject is asked in what consists the excellence of his Government or Constitution, he answers at once, In not being taxed, assessed or other ways bound by any laws, but such as are made by his own Consent in person, or by his Representative; And in being tried by a Jury of his Peers of the Vicinage—on these Two great pillars rests the whole Security of the British Subject, on these the British Constitution is Supported. These pillars the United Colonies from the first to the last have embraced; it is from these their envious Brethern and fellow Subjects in Great Brittain have strove to force them. But they have from the first clung to them, resolved to be sheltered under the Roof they supported, or, like the strong Man of old, be buried together if such a Fate must attend them with their Enemies under the ruins. Against whom then are the United Colonies Rebels? They acknowledged their Prince. They supported the Constitution, but would not Submit in Violation of the first principles of it, to be Subject to their equalls, & fellow Subjects, without their Consent first given. Here then comes to light after all the Charges of Rebellion, a kind of Rebels as New, and unheard of, as any thing which is yet to exist. One Subject rebelling against another! A Species of Rebellion which never before existed, & must forever be without a parallel, therefore can give no uneasiness to the King or Subjects of other States, and it is confidently presumed will reflect no dishonor on the Colonies charged with it. This Assertion thus explained, it is submitted whither it ever would have been made seriously in the present Case, but for the purpose of injuring the Colonies in the Opinion of Europe and to deter the powers there from lending their Aid, or Countenance to Subjects so highly Criminal. Much has been said on this Assertion, as the Colonies having the most earnest desire to enjoy a free and friendly Commercial intercourse with the Powers in Europe,

and as they wish all happiness and Peace to their fellow man, under every form of Government, they are anxiously Sollicitous to remove any Misapprehensions they may have entertained of them or their Cause. The Next Assertion was that the Colonies would Submit on the first Appearance of the Forces sent against them the present Campaign. To this was added, but in a moderate Stile, that some propositions of Reconciliation would be made, but what they were, was a Secret. That the Colonies did not submit on the first Appearance of the mighty force is well known, & that on the 8th of August no progress had been made toward reducing them to a Submission is equally well known—within some weeks, indeed ever since the defeat of Clinton and Parker at Charlestown was published & since the Ministry have been acquainted with some Circumstances not yet published, the Assertion of an Absolute reduction this Campaign has been dropp'd & some hints given of great Reinforcement from Russia for the next; meantime it has been roundly Asserted that a Negotiation was taking place, and that the whole dispute would soon be settled to the satisfaction of both parties. This last Assertion has been made most positively and propagated with the greatest Industry, for, as will be seen hereafter, very much depends on the belief of it. These are the general Assertions of the Administration of Great Brittain. The Grounds for the first have been explained minutely as well as the end aimed at. The design of the second as well as the ground on which they rested it, is very Obvious.

The Confidence on which they grounded their Assertion of the instant Reduction of the Colonies on the first Appearance of their Force, arose from a Supposition that the Colonists, totally destitute of Supplies, must be surprized unarmed; for dear bought Experience had taught them that with Arms in their hands they were no way Contemptible; and the ground for hinting, at first tho', but faintly, than an Accommoda-

tion would take place rested on the hopes of effecting a Division among the Colonies, but since the total Defeat of all their hopes to the Southward of New York, their hopes rise only on the absolute despair of effecting the reduction of the Colonies by Arms this Season, and the very promising offer, which in such a Case they have empowered Lord Howe & his Brother to make. These are in general their Assertions, and the Ground on which they have rested them.

The End which they are designed to answer, is in the first place to encourage the People of Great Brittain in the prosecution of what they have already gone too far to recede safely ; and to represent to their Neighbors in Europe this Affair as in their power to Terminate at any Time, & therefore of no great consequence to them.

There now remains but two methods for determining the dispute the present Campaign, by Conquest or by Accommodation. The certainty of the first was until within a few Weeks as roundly Asserted as the probability of the latter is at present.

The probability that either will take place, or rather the improbability of the former, and the impossibility of the latter may be shown by the following relation and stating of Facts unquestioned:—The retreat of General Howe from his Confinement in Boston and the disgraces the Troops met with in the Campaign of 1775, induced the Ministry of Great Brittain to change their measures, and exerting their whole National influence and Wealth provided three Armaments. One destined for the recovery of Canada and from thence Attacking the Frontiers of New England and New York and by penetrating, if possible, as farr as Albany to open a Communication by water thence to the Ocean, and this to divide the New England from the Western & Southward Colonies.

The next and most important was to Attack New York and thence join the first. The Third was in the meantime to Attack & reduce the Southern Colonies,

after which the Three Armies united were to reduce the New England Colonies. The first of these opened the Campaign with much apparent (tho' very little real) Success, by driving out the detached parties of the Colonists who had possessed themselves of that province, after they had continued there until the provisions of the Country were Consumed; high as expectations was raised, Authentic Advices say that in August the Army had advanced only to Chamle, more than Two Hundred Miles from Albany and more than Three Hundred from New York & without Vessels to Transport his Army over the Lakes; That it was very Short of Provisions in an exhausted Country, & with no possible means of Supply but from Europe & that Method to be shut up by Ice after October, with many difficult passes before them, dangerous rapid Waters, Rivers & defiles occupied by the Colonial Forces, and defended by Batteries & armed Vessels— A disciplined Army at Crownpoint and Ticonderoga with a Numerous Militia ready at an Hour's notice to join them; & when to these Circumstances is added the well-known Difference subsisting between Gov. Carleton, & General Burgoyne with respect to Command, and that those Lakes & Waters often freeze in the Month of October, always in November, the probability of this Army effecting anything is submitted, only adding that all these Circumstances are well known to the Colonists who will readily improve them to the best advantage. The Second Armament under General Howe and destined against New York, made a Landing early in July on Staten Island within Sight of the City previously occupied by General Washington with a Numerous Army of disciplined Troops, and by General Howe's own Acct to the Ministry, too strongly fortified with a Numerous Train of Artillery for him to Attempt it with the Fleet and Army under his Command. Here he was on the 8th of August, during which Lord Howe had joined him, but by the last Advices appeared too Weak to attempt

any thing, or rather he waited for the Arrival of the last Division of Hessian and other Troops from Europe, which it is well known could not join him until late in September, Thus giving General Washington all the time he could have wished for securing every advantageous post & habituating his Troops to expect an Attack, prevent that pannic, common and generally fatal to new-raised Troops suddenly Attacked.

Meantime General Clinton and Admiral Parker sent against the Town of Charlestown with Ten Shipps of Warr and Four Thousand Troops expecting an easy Conquest, & from the pretended insurrections in the Southern Colonies, their supposed weakness on account of the number of negroes, & the constant harassing of Lord Dunmore and his party in Virginia, the British Ministry expected, & gave out Constantly, that the whole of the Southern Colonies would be reduced and detached from the Congress. On the Contrary, the memorable defeat at Charlestown has obliged General Clinton & Admiral Parker to quit the coast, and they sailed to join Gen^{l} Howe under pretence indeed of reinforcing him, to make one great and decisive attack, but in reality to refit their shattered Shipps, and by a Northern Air, save the remains of their Army, perishing with the Scurvy, & with Fevers taken in the unwholesome Southern climates. Indeed, when it is recollected that this Armament left Europe early last January, and after suffering long in the Tempestuous Weather on the American Coast, were driven off it to the West Indies, that neither in the West Indies, nor since, have they had either Fresh Meat, Fresh Bread or Vegetables, it is easy to form a Judgement what kind of reinforcements they will be after suffering Storms, disappointments, Defeat & sickness for about Nine Months. Lord Dunmore who had so long been the brutal Scourge of Virginia, & who had promised great things to Administration, in consequence of instigating the Slaves to assinate their Masters, has been totally defeated, great part of

his Fleet burnt, & he fled with the rest. Thus before General Howe so much as thought of striking his blow at New York, the Center, the Southern Colonies are put into an intire state of Peace, and will be able to spare a large body of Troops to aid General Washington if wanted. Meantime, Success, the rule by which the Multitude in every Age, and in every Country, estimate the prudence & Wisdom of Council, and often of the Justice of the Cause, has confirmed all in the most unanimous Support of the Congress, and the independance of the Colonies. And it is proper further to observe, that those Colonies have settled their form of Government, their Code of Laws, their System of Legislation, and their mode of Administrating Justice, and by Voluntary choice have placed their Leaders in their late Convention at the head of the different Departments. Having Laws, Regulations, &c., already in general agreeable to them, the transition is easier than can at first be conceived of by a Stranger. It is only substituting a Governor and other Officers of their own elevation, in place of those before appointed by the Crown, turning their Convention or provincial Congress into a Legislative Assembly or Parliament, and every thing runs on in its usual Course. Passing by General Howe for a Moment, & attending to the New England Colonies, they will be found unmolested. Yet British Administration ever considered them, and justly, too, the most formidable, both in politics, & in Arms. With them the Contest was begun. Their reduction, nay, even their absolute Devastation, was openly denounced in the British Parliament when the first Armament was sent against them. This Armament consisting of near Thirty Battalions and a large Fleet, were never able, during a Campaign of Twelve Months, to penetrate one Mile into the Country, and when it was at last obliged to fly, left the whole of those Colonies free to secure their Towns & harbors from future Attacks, to which they applied themselves ever Since.

It is a Common saying among the English when a Man Attacks his Adversary in his Strongest part or to disadvantage, that "*he has taken the Bull by his horns.*" The British Minister, when he found by Dear-bought Experience the Strength of the Northern Colonies, used this Expression, and turned his Forces to the opposite Extremity, & to the Center. The opposite extremity was found as fully prepared for their Reception, and covered them with equall Disgrace.

Attention now hangs on this central point. Staten Island is known to be a small and inconsiderable Spot for a large Army. It can afford no supplies to General Howe's Army, and its Situation does not command one Inch of Ground beyond its own limits, & is surrounded on the opposite Shores on Three Sides by strong posts, and detachments of General Washington's Army. General Howe's Army will, when compleated, consist of twenty-four or twenty-five Thousand Men without making deduction for sickness or desertion. This Numerous Army as well as the Sailors and Marines must be supplied with every individual Article of Provisions from Europe, consequently must be confined to Salt Provisions.

The month of September is the Sickly Month throughout North America, and the Inhabitants avoid in that Season a Salt or heavy diet and use Fruit more than in any other part of the year. Everything considered, General Howe cannot count on more than Twenty Thousand Men fit for Action on the Time of his coming to Action, either in August or September. On the other hand General Washington will have an Army of thirty thousand, well furnished with provision, a Numerous Artillery, Time to place it to the best advantage, & to be prepared for receiving his Enemy. The whole Militia of New England, New York, New Jersey & Pennsylvania, and further southward, if necessary, ready to be called in to reinforce his Army if it stand in Need. All Intelligence between General Howe and General Burgoyne by Land intercepted.

The former will, however, endeavor to find out the Motion of the latter, and regulate his Attack accordingly. The probability, or, rather, improbability, of the Success of Gen[l] Burgoyne and his Army has already been Stated, & the prospect which the Ministry have of the Success of General Howe may be estimated from the foregoing undisguised state of Facts, from their keeping Secret all Intelligence since his landing, almost Three Months since, but more especially from their declaring everywhere, both at home & abroad, that Lord Howe was negotiating, and a Reconciliation was soon to take place. I say more especially from this Declaration as the Minister before declared in Parliament, just before its rising, that No Terms should be offered the Colonies before they were reduced to Unconditional Submission ; if therefore the Minister has any hopes in Negotiation, it is the result of Absolute despair of any thing by Arms. Let the probability of a Reconciliation taking place on any Terms whatever, be first Considered, and then the impossibility of any Reconciliation taking place untill after the meeting of Parliament. In the beginning of this Memorial a brief History was given of the prosecution of this dispute through the first twelve years of it—A Space of Time requisite to Separate a People, before so Strongly Attached, in which Time every individual (for every Man in the Colonies reads & Studies political publications) has had leisure to fix his principles, to interest himself in the rising dispute, and to look forward and meditate seriously on the Event, and though they did not wish for a Separation, they from the first would have preferred it to a Submission to the Claims of Parliament.

Had the late Declaration of Independance been the Result of resentment for some Sudden Outrage or Injury even of the highest kind, it might be expected that on cooler Reflection and some soothings on the part of the Aggressor, a Reconciliation and Reunion would take place; this has commonly happened in

such Cases, but the Case of the United Colonies in this as well as every other Circumstance attending it is intirely New, and its parallel has never yet been known in the History of Mankind. The Inhabitants of the United Colonies are an enlightened, well informed People and so attentive have been the Fathers of that People, that Schools and Colleges are more Numerous among them, than perhaps in any other Country—Every person has some Education, and not a Village but has more or less persons of a Liberal one in it.

The Richer sort of Farmers or Peasants (for almost every peasant is a free Land holder) purchase and Study the History, & Laws of England, & the very poorest furnish themselves with Gazettes, & political publications, which they read, observe upon and debate in a Circle of their Neighbors ; in the Election of their public Magistrates the Voice of the poorest is equall to that of the richest, and the poorest having some Freehold, the richest can neither Awe nor Controll him, & in public debate he is heard with the same Attention.

From this Sketch of the Character of this People it will be seen that they are not an ignorant unprincipled rabble, heated and led on to the present Measures by the artful and Ambitious few, but Men bred from their Infancy in what they conceive to be the fundamental principles of their liberty, who have inquired and judged for themselves in this Case and who so farr from being led by the Congress, in reality direct and support that Body ; from hence comes that universal & to Appearance implicit Submission to the resolutions and orders of the Congress, and from hence that unparrell'd Unanimity, vigor & fortitude with which they have opposed the whole power of Great Brittain—Unanimity & Vigor unexpected by the Ministry of Great Brittain, & surprizing to all Europe, because the secret springs of the whole were unknown, and in Searching out the Cause every one

began, where he should end (Viz.): with the Leaders in the Congress, whereas they were but the Agents of these Constituents, & spoke & resolv'd collectively the Sentiments of individuals; this is a Circumstance which alone renders a reconciliation very improbable, but when it is further Considered that this people did not urge for a declaration of independance even after Blood was shed untill they saw their humble Petition to the King of Great Brittain treated with Contempt, untill they saw their Commerce ruined, their Fisheries—the gift of Heav'n—torn from them, their defenceless Towns in flames, their Brothers bleeding, Savages courted & Slaves instigated to Butcher and Assassinate without Distinction of Age or sex—To particularize would fill Volumes—it is painful to be obliged to say this much, lest it be necessary to hint at the sufferings & forbearances of this People before they took a Resolution which it is pretended they will recede from, for a few soft Words & delusive promises. To show that the principles, Temper, & Conduct of this people, through the whole, demonstrates the Contrary, One circumstance farther deserves Attention, it is this—The Question respecting independancy began to be agitated in Congress in February last, yet so cautious were the Members that they came to no Resolution untill the 4th of July in which Time they sent to and consulted their Constituents, who being for such a Resolution it was taken, and it is observable that it was come into after They knew of the Force which General Howe was collecting against them, after they knew that Lord Howe was coming with some kind of Propositions to them, which demonstrates they were neither intimidated at the Arms of the one nor disposed to listen to the propositions of the other Brother.

Much has been propagated about a disunion, which arose from the Delegates of Maryland returning to consult their Constituents, since which they have taken their Seats in Congress, & joined in the Declaration.

But that any Reconciliation should ever take place is not only improbable, but that it should take place untill after the meeting of Parliament, is absolutely impossible—in the first place the King of Great Brittain & his Ministry have resolved never to Treat with the Congress, and the People of America will never Treat thro' any other Persons or Body; in the Next place, Lord Howe whatever offers he may be empowered to make in behalf of his Majesty, can make none in behalf of the Parliament, as they have not empowered him to make any. They have empowered his Majesty to grant Pardons, and to remove restrictions from such Ports as shall return to their Duty as it is called.

However ample Lord Howe's power may be from his Majesty, we cannot advance beyond the Letter of the Act of Parliament, which does not give up any part of the original Cause of this Quarrel. Should Lord Howe therefore produce the most favorable Terms from his Majesty, should he even consent to treat with the Congress, their first & most natural reply to him will be: We have no dispute with his Majesty further than he has made himself a party, by lending his Authority to Our Fellow Subjects in Great Brittain to Assist them in reducing of Us to be Subject to them.

It is true previous to this We owed that Allegiance which a British Subject owes a British Sovereign; an Allegiance which originates from and exists in the Sovereign faithfully performing his engagements to protect the Subject in all his Rights and Priviledges, An Allegiance which the Sovereign cannot transfer, even to an independant prince, much less to a fellow Subject. All Engagements broken on one side, in consequence releases the other, a Doctrine long since held Orthodox in Great Brittain itself; a Doctrine we have ever believed, and are now driven to put in practice.

We can treat, therefore, with the King of Great

Brittain as independant States would treat with any other Prince. But has the Parliament engaged to ratify such Treaty, whatever it may be?

It is against their Claims We have Armed Ourselves; have they relinquished them or empowered you to relinquish them in their behalf? directly the reverse being the Case, & these preliminaries being indispensably necessary, it is impossible the Treaty can so much as be entered on before the Parliament meets, and should they Agree to every thing, Intelligence could not reach America before December, when the manner in which the Campaign may by that time be closed may alter the Disposition of treating at all. Further, Lord Howe could not have made his propositions, whatever they were, before about the middle of August, & before this time the Congress must have dispatched their Instructions for applying for foreign Alliances. Supposing them by some way or other disposed to Treat, they would not dare to enter on undoing what by the Voice of the People they had just been doing without first Consulting them, and this must be a Work of Time, of three Months at least.

For all these Reasons a Negotiation at all is highly improbable, & any before the meeting of the Next Parliament impossible. More has been said on this subject as the true Cause of the Unanimity of the Congress has not been generally known; and without knowing that, the Reasons why a Reconciliation is so very improbable cannot be understood. And let it be asked if the British Administration believed that a Reconciliation would take place why are they solliciting for Twenty Thousand Russians? and why are they daily taking up Transports & putting Shipps into Commission? From a brief review of this Controversy it is easy to conceive that after repeated Ministerial promises, & as repeated Violations, little future Credit will be given to them by an honest, plain, sensible people, jealous to an extreme of their Liber-

ties, and who can never forget the perfidious treatment they met with at the Close of the last Warr in being deprived of any Share in the Lands for which they had fought & bled, and for which they had the royal promise—A Warr which, however glorious it has been called to Great Brittain, was commenced by them in Violation of the Law of Nations, & closed in the Violation of Royal Faith & Common honesty. But many Events happen in the Course of human affairs, contrary to all Our Reasoning & Expectation. The Events of Warr are particularly uncertain; here are in this Case certain probable and certain possible Events; let us enumerate them, & take a look at the Consequences:

1st. It is probable that Genl. Burgoyne will not be able to Cross the Lakes this Season. 2d. It is probable that General Howe will be obliged to retire from Staten Island and seek Winter Quarters before he effect anything. 3d. It is highly probable that every attempt to negotiate will prove Abortive, & impossible any thing should be compleated untill after the sitting of Parliament. On the other hand it is 1st possible that General Bourgoyne may cross the Lakes & reach Albany; 2d. it is possible that General Howe may possess himself of New York this season and make his Winter Quarters there, as the former may at Albany; 3d. it is possible under these Circumstances, the Colonies seeing Great Brittain engaging one Power in Europe after another to lend their Aid against them, & no Assistance expected on their part, it is possible in such an unequal Contest, in such an Extremity that they may listen to terms of Accommodation, which on the part of Great Brittain will be made as favorable as their own situation must urge them to, to avoid what otherways must overtake them in another Campaign (viz.), A National Bankruptcy.

The necessary Consequences of these Events are in the next place seriously to be attended to; if General Howe is obliged to Winter in Canada, and General

Bourgoyne to retire from Staten Island, and all the propositions which Lord Howe shall make be rejected, the Consequence must be either that Great Brittain must seek fresh aid from other Allies, for which there are no visible resources in her power, or must at once do what her ablest Politicians already talk of (viz.), close with the Colonies, acknowledge them independant States, withdraw from the Colonies her Fleets and Armies, and every Appearance of Authority, and conciliate a return of their Affection by the most Advantageous Terms of Alliance, binding the Colonies to Nothing more than Assistence in Time of Warr. Such a system, wisely Conducted (it requires, indeed, a great political Genius to conduct it), will put it in the power of Great Brittain to execute her most Ambitious projects with greater Certainty, & less Expense than any other they have been pursuing. But it is possible General Howe may possess himself of New York, and General Bourgoyne of Albany; the late Time in the season in which they must effect even this, with the fatigue and unavoidable losses in proceeding thus farr, will render it impossible for them to proceed farther, and indeed it will be hardly possible for them to secure their Quarters in those two places; it is absolutely impracticable to keep up any Communication between the two posts, which are more than One Hundred & fifty miles asunder, and the River froze three months in the year, which River runs parrallel with the Western bounds or Settlements of New England, & is in that whole distance within a Day's March of the Forces of those Colonies. The greater success, therefore, that can be expected on the part of Great Brittain will leave them under near the same necessity of Treating as their probable Defeats, and the only Advantage they will have by this supposed success will be that the Checks thus given to the Colonies and their despair of foreign aid may incline them to Accept of Easier Terms from Great Brittain. In either Case the Kingdom of Great Britain,

if by any sudden reverse her Affairs should fall under the management of a Great Genius, a Man of Liberal and extensive Views, will be in much the same situation for executing her Ambitious designs in America—and what these are her Conduct has long since pointed out, and the situation of her public Debts & finances will render unavoidable, however unjustifiable.

On either of these Events taking place She will have Land & Naval Force in America superior to that of all the other European powers collectively in that part of the World. And surely more need not be said on this subject, as the pretences for and the mode of beginning the last Warr in America must be fresh in every one's memory, and the late proceedings in the East Indies, & the present in America, are sufficient to convince the World that Twelve years' peace have not altered either her principles or her Conduct. The last Warr was entered upon by Great Brittain ostensibly on Account of a certain unsettled Boundary in America, a Boundary indeed in Lands to which neither Nation had in reality any Title as they were at the time confessedly the property of the Natives; But the real ground of that bloody and expensive Warr was that France had got the Ascendant over the Natives, & commanded the Furr Trade and was rivalling Great Brittain in Fisheries & Commerce. This is well known to have been the real Ground of the last Warr, & not the possession of Land, which could yield no profitt for an Age at least, and still less any apprehensions for the safety of Colonies which from their earliest Settlement they had left to defend themselves, nor ever defended them when attacked and in the greatest Danger. This anecdote ought to be considered seriously at the present Hour, and as the same Causes produce the same Effects, it is worth inquiring whither the present flourishing and increasing Commerce of France, particularly to the West Indies, is not as great an object of Envy & Jealousy as that which occasioned the last War.

A Brief history of the first Stages of this Controversy has been given; of the different Assertions propagated on the part of Great Brittain, the ground & design of them explained and obviated. From a sketch of the situation of the Forces in America on both sides, the probable and the possible Events of the present Campaign have been pointed out, & the important Consequences which must follow hinted at. Their importance it has been thought unnecessary to enlarge on, as it is presumed to be a matter well known. It has been so ordered by the Power which invisibly governs & directs human Events, that the command & direction of these probable as well as possible Events should be committed to France. It is in the power of France to withhold all Aid or Countenance and silently permit one or the other of the above Events to take place, the Consequence of which will be felt too late to be remedied; and though they will not be Consequences so immediately fatal to the Colonies, possibly not in the End fatal, yet the writer of this Memoire, from the grateful Sentiments he must ever feel for this polite and hospitable Kingdom, is anxious to have them prevented; and his desire to prevent them & at the same time to serve his Own Country has made him thus particular & minute. On the other hand, it is in the power of France, by sending out instant supplies, to prevent an Accommodation, & all its Consequences; to finish at once this Controversy, oblige Great Brittain to withdraw her Fleets & Armies and give up any future pretences to Dominion in America, & thus lock & barr the Door against those Consequences which must otherways unavoidably follow. This will appear Evident from a few Observations. Any Stores now sent away will arrive in November, which is the critical period alluded to above, when, if General Bourgoyne should be locked in Canada and General Howe about to seek Winter Quarters elsewhere, despairing of or baffled before New York, these Stores would enable

the United Colonies to secure themselves against the return of the latter, & reduce the other during the Winter to Unconditional Submission. Should the other Events take place, and General Howe be in New York, and Gen! Bourgoyne in Albany, and an Accommodation thought of, the Arrival of foreign Supplies would enable the Colonies to dislodge both Armies during the Winter, from their quarters in unfortified Towns, and drive from the minds of the Inhabitants the most distant Thought of Treating. It can never be thought that a People so free and independant in their very Genius & Education would ever submit but from the last Necessity to Treat with men who had endeavoured to enslave them. Nor is it possible but that, they must prefer an Alliance with the power which has been freindly to them in their Distress and relieved them in the Crisis of their Fate, to any other Alliance or Friendship whatever but most peculiarly so, to any Alliance or Connection with the Power that has been exerting itself for their Destruction. It must have been a Matter of Surprize to the Court of France that nothing has lately arrived immediately addressed to them, & the more as Mr. Deane's Instructions dated as aerly as March last, gave reason to expect a more full & explicit address before this, and as this delay, together with the inactivity of the British Forces in America, and the late Confidant assertions respecting an Accommodation, must undoubtedly have given occasion to suspect that the Colonies were Negotiating, and therefore suspended their Applications for Assistence. On this subject it may be observed, that the Congress had spent the Winter, in settling the Order of the coming Campaign as far as was in their power, since they knew not their Enemy's plan of Operations, and the Troops under General Howe did not quit Boston, untill the 17th of March. Meanwhile the Arming and fitting out a little Fleet, the raising a numerous Army, the devising, the almost Creating Ways and Means for their Cloathing and support, &

Arming them, with the Constant application to them from lower Conventions or Colonial Assemblies for Advice and Assistance, engaged their whole Time and Attention. It was indeed seen that a Declaration of Independancy would free them from many Embarrassments and render their proceedings more consistent, and easy of Execution; but so important a Step could not with safety be taken untill the People should be convinced of the Necessity of it so fully as to demand it. This, as was before hinted, was a work of some Time, and the People perceiving at last that every proposal in Parliament for a Reconciliation was delusive and that Great Brittain was Arming all the Mercenaries she could engage against them, they saw the necessity of such a measure, & called for it, and instructed their Delegates, as appears from their proceedings and from the Declaration of independance itself, to apply to foreign powers for Alliance & Assistance. Previous to this the Congress could not with any propriety have given fuller or more explicit Instructions; and this Declaration was made on the 4th of July, since which the Port of Philadelphia and others have been so strictly watched, that but one vessel appears to have arrived that sailed after that Time. This Vessel left Philadelphia the 8th of August, unknown to the Congress, it being a private Adventure. The Captain says no Negotiation was carrying on, but that the Congress were unanimous in carrying on the Warr, and their Army in high Spirits and impatient for Action. Other Accounts which have transpired from the other side confirm the same.

Previous to the 4th of July no Additional Instructions to Mr. Deane were Necessary, and on the 4th of July, when the Declaration of independance was made, the Congress were uncertain whether he was safely arrived in France or had been intercepted; they must therefore either have waited for Mr. Deane's Letters which could not have arrived untill the middle of August, or have dispatched one of their Body in per-

son with their Instructions, that in case of the failure of Mr. Deane they might have their Case represented —the latter was undoubtedly the method they pursued, and by Persons who left America just at that Time, this is made very probable, as they report that they heard such a method talked of before they left New York. In such a Case it must be considered that Time must be had to agree on and draw up the Proposals they designed to make to this Court, as also on the Instructions to their Ambassador; some time must be taken by him in preparing for his Voyage. To which must be added the hourly Expectation they must have been in of receiving Letters from Mr. Deane, in which, as they had given him the following Direction, would be decisive whither any further Application was proper or not, for should they be informed that their Applications would not be received by the Court of France, prudence must direct them to apply elsewhere, or Conduct the Contest in the best Manner in their Power, single and unaided. The Clause of Mr. Deane's Instruction referred to is as follows:

"If you find a Disposition to favor the Colonies it may be proper to inform that they must necessarily, in your Opinion, be anxious to know the Disposition of France on certain Points, such as whither if the Colonies should be forced to form themselves into an independant State, France would probably Acknowledge them as such, receive their Ambassadors, enter into any Treaty or Alliance with Them for Commerce or Defence, or both? if so, on what Conditions?" His Excellency the Compte de Vergennes will remember that on shewing him the Instruction he replied that the Colonies declaring themselves independant was an Event in the Womb of Time, & the Resolution of these Queries must rest untill this Event happened. Mr. Deane was too sensible of the justice of this Reply to urge further on the subject, confident he must soon have received more ample directions; and happy in the polite and Generous As-

surances of Countenance and protection in his Commercial Affairs given him by his Excellency, he rested on this head as easy as the anxiety for the Fate of his Country would permit him. Some Weeks since, the Declaration of independancy of the Colonies was announced to the public, both in Great Brittain and France in the Gazettes, and the authenticity of the Declaration has never been doubted; yet Mr. Deane expecting direct Intelligence waved making use of this, and since its arrival which is some Weeks, has undergone an anxiety absolutely inexpressible, and insupportable but for the Considerations above hinted at, which may have delayed their Dispatches, and from observing that the vessel which brought this acct. to Great Brittain had a short passage, and that but one vessel has arrived from the Colonies since, which left Philadelphia on the 8th of August without giving any Notice of her Departure, and very few Shipps, not more than four or five, have arrived in Great Brittain or Ireland—passages at this Season are often Seven or Eight Weeks. But reviewing the Facts stated in this Memoire, without either disguise or exaggeration, sets in View the importance of the present Moment. Mr. Deane dispatched a swift Sailing Vessel a few weeks since with Letters to the Congress, and a person went purposely to inform them of his Situation. He is now about to send another; and considering the Instruction above recited, given him previous to the Declaration of Independancy; considering that in the Declaration since made it is expressly asserted that they will seek foreign Alliance he must urge a direct Answer to the following Queries contained in that Clause of his Instructions above recited (viz), Will France acknowledge them as independant States? will their Ambassador be received? and may they hope to enter into any Treaty or Alliance for Commerce or Defence or both? If the answer to these queries should be in the Negative, Mr. Deane hopes that his having made the Queries, and the answer may be kept secret; if on

the other hand they are answered in the Affirmative equal secrecy is necessary & will on Mr. Deane's part be strictly Observed. It is of the utmost importance to have an Answer to these Queries at this Time, for if Mr. Deane may be enabled to transmit to the Congress favorable Answers they will, if dispatch'd soon, be received at the most Critical period, and let the Fate of the Campaign be what it will, they will prevent any Accommodation, especially as he will be able to give them at the same Time a favorable Account of the Stores he is Collecting, on which subject he once more submits to Consideration the Necessity of having them convoyed in some manner & under some kind of Regulation, & on which having given his sentiments in his Memoire, Delivered the 22^{d}. of August, he begs leave to Refer thereto. Before this Memoire is closed Mr. Deane again asks the attention of those Great Personages to whom it may be presented to the particular Situation of the United Colonies and the indispensible Necessity for the Court of France to give them immediate incouragement & Countenance, though in a private manner, by returning them favorable answers to their Queries, and Grounds to hope for their future Assistance, as the Court of France would wish to prevent their either coming again under the Power of Great Brittain by Accommodation or becoming connected by Alliance, which (they despairing of any foreign assistance) may be the Case, in such a manner as may give Great Brittain superior advantages to what she might have even by their subjection; this, as has before been hinted, will probably be the Case, if the present the all-important present moment is suffered to slip by unimproved. At the Close of the last Warr, when Great Brittain was stopp'd in the height of her Career by the Enormity of her National Debt, the fear of increasing which induced her to make Peace, no human Eye could have foreseen, nor Imagination conceived that after the space of Twelve years profound peace with

all the World, and the enjoyment of Universal Commerce, she should in little more than one Campaign swell the National Debt higher than it was at the Close of that Warr, throwing away at once the savings of Twelve years Peace, not in the obtaining splendid Victories or the acquiring of Territory, but loosing with it One third its Commerce, and more than one third its whole Dominions, and be reduced to so distress'd a situation as to have her Safety or Ruin absolutely dependant on the Smiles or Frowns of a Rival which for Centuries she has insulted, and then boasted to have humbled.

To have at least all her foreign possessions stripp'd from her, and the Basis of her Commerce, and that without the expence of her Rival's Blood and Treasure; on the contrary, turning to her the principal Advantages and emoluments of these foreign Possessions, and their Commerce—no human Eye could have foreseen or imagination conceiv'd of such Events, yet they are arrived. And should France neglect the improving the advantages offered, it will add to the surprize of Mankind one more extraordinary Event or Occurrence to the above. The British Minister in Parliament & his Friends urged a prosecution of the Warr with the Colonies, the present Campaign, and advanced this principle in their Debates: "If we cannot reduce them we shall be but where we now are." The explanation of this Paradox will support what is advanced by Mr. Deane in this Memoire, and justify his repeated suggestions of the Ultimate Views of Great Brittain. Its meaning is evidently this: "We will prosecute the Warr, and if possible reduce both their Persons and Property to Our absolute disposal. But if we fail, we can at any time make Peace with them by granting them their Demands." But here rises an obvious Question—will the Nation be where it was after expending perhaps Twenty Million in the Contest? They answer: "It is true the National Debt will be increased, but the money is still within the Nation,

which by this Contest will be well armed and Disciplined, especially in America." The Opposition in Great Brittain, as it is called, have generally professed great Freindship for the United Colonies, and many individuals have doubtless been sincere, whilst as many have only made use of the Complaints of the Colonies to drive out the Minister. It is confidently asserted that one of the Leaders in Opposition is to come into the Ministry at the opening of Parliament, and hence the World are assured that all will be settled. The Truth is, notwithstanding what this Opposition imagines, the United Colonies are too wise to commit themselves to either; they are not Contending who shall be their Taxmasters, and they view the Contending Parties in Great Brittain with the utmost indifference further than as Divisions there may clog and hinder National exertions against them. The Language of the principal persons in Opposition and of many of the Majority now is, Stop immediately the Operation of this Warr or the Nation is ruined; join with the Colonies and declare them independant States; let us withdraw at once Our Fleet, Our Armies, Our Governors, and every kind or badge of Authority over them, and leave them with the satisfaction of defending and Governing themselves. It will put them into good humor and save a great Expence to us; and they will not hesitate in Consequence of this to give us a preference in their Commerce and engage to afford us all the assistance in their power in our Warrs.

At the meeting of Parliament in October, on account of the Extremity of their money affairs, the Country member comes to find all the Grants, Loans, Taxes, &c., his four shilling Land Tax among the rest, already expended, a large accumulating unfunded Debt, and large anticipations already made on the Revenues and Grants of the coming year. When, let the intelligence be what it will, there cannot be a single ray of hope that one shilling of this will be repaid by the

United Colonies; and when looking forward to a coming Campaign the amount swells almost beyond his skill in arithmetic to form an Idea of, is it not probable he will make a pause and listen to such Language as the above? And if the Minister finds it takes, will he not make a merit of being the first to promote a settlement?

To Reason so much about future Events, Events which must happen in a few weeks or months, and determine their Nature and Complexion for themselves, would be the height of absurdity but for two Reasons. 1st. They are in the power and Controll of France this Day; but in all probability if neglected never will be again: 2d. It is impossible that any Events in the Course of human affairs can be more interesting to France, and if rightly directed at this Period so effectually advance her Interest & happiness by increasing her Commerce internal & external, and at once put it out of the Power of Great Brittain ever hereafter to disturb her repose on the Continent or insult her on the Ocean. The Memoire on Commerce, annexed, briefly hints at the advantages of American Commerce and its rapid increase; sooner or later the independance of the United Colonies must be Established, the Consequence of which will be the wresting from Great Brittain a monopoly of the Commerce of the greater part of one Quarter of the Globe, and leaving the Inhabitants free to prefer those Nations that can best supply them, and that are disposed to treat them with the greatest Justice & Generosity. In full Confidence that France would be the first of these, they here make their first application. France of all the Kingdoms in Europe is their most natural ally. Nor is it possible, while each pursues its own most obvious Interest, to find an instance in which they can interfere with or rival each other; on the contrary, they are as naturally situated to increase and promote each other's true Interest and happiness as any Two Countries on the Globe. The United Colonies con-

fidently hope that his most Christian Majesty, ever attentive to the True Interest, Peace, and Security of his Kingdom, will improve the present Opportunity of securing them on the most permanent Basis, and of acquiring to himself the peculiar Glory, whilst cultivating the Arts of Peace and rendering his subjects happy under their influence, to humble at the same Time the hereditary Enemy of his House and Kingdom, & gain an ascendant over him superior to what any of his great Ancestors, brave and Victorious as they were, ever effected by their Arms. An Action like this rarely falls within the power of the greatest & most fortunate of Princes; one of equall magnitude and extent is not recorded in history. To secure the Tranquility of his Own Subjects by humbling the disturber of their Peace and invader of their Property, and by the same Action to secure and confirm the Inhabitants of a new and rising World in Peace, Liberty, & Happiness, must render the illustrious Agent happy thro' Life from the Consciousness of true heroic Virtue, and his memory fresh and grateful to Posterity, when the Marble or other Monuments of his Contemporaries shall have followed their Persons and names into Dust & Obscurity; nor can Laurels such as These ever fade whilst Virtue and the Memory of Virtuous Actions remain in Esteem among mankind.

P.S. So great a subject as this agitated at such a distance cannot be supposed to be well understood at once, which must apologize for the Length of this Memoire. The importance of it being rightly understood, and rightly improved at this critical, this extremely Critical Period, as well for the Peace, Interest, & Security of France, as for the Liberty, safety, and independance of the United Colonies will apologize for Mr. Deane who has the Cause of no Two other Countries so much at Heart, though he wishes well to all mankind. After attending to every thing

that has been said tending to discourage the affording to the United Colonies, and considering what ever has been objected, the whole Centers in one single Apprehended Event and its Consequences. Neither the Justice, humanity or even policy of the Measure is called in question; let the Apprehensions of this Event be once removed.

This Apprehended Event is that the United Colonies will Negotiate on some Terms or other with Great Brittain, or they will on some Terms or other Accommodate their dispute with them, and in such Case should Great Brittain offended at such aid, meditate hostilities, the possessions of France in the West Indies would be in danger from the immense Force by Sea and Land which Great Brittain would have in America, joined by the Colonies, or only supplied by them with Necessaries. This Consequence (the Event happening) is evident & has been hinted at in this Memoire, and strongly urged in a former one, nor would the Danger in such Case threaten the possessions of France only. But let it be here supposed that France lends no aid, acting on this apparently prudential Ground—has it not been demonstrated that such a Conduct on the part of France, is the almost only possible means of bringing the Colonies to an Accommodation? and now let it be asked whether Great Brittain, having Accommodated her Dispute with the United Colonies, and having in America an Army of Forty or Fifty Thousand Men (part of which She is obliged to employ a Certain Number of Years) and the advantages of recruiting or increasing it to any Number from the disbanded Colonists, with a Numerous Fleet in those Seas, Under these Circumstances let it be asked if her regard to Justice, and the Laws of Nations, will prevent her seizing on the possessions of France, meerly because she can prove no overt Act of France, in favor of the Colonies? *Sic Notus Ulysses?* It has been demonstrated that there can be no prob-

ability of any accommodation, but from the Colonies being in want of Supplies, being unfortunate and despairing of foreign aid. An Alliance may be made if Great Brittain will declare them independant. But neither Accommodation or Alliance can possibly take place untill after the setting of Parliament in Great Brittain ; this single Circumstance renders the present moment of such infinite importance. But say some, the King of Great Brittain may send even a Chart Blanck to the Congress. Granted, and what then ?—just nothing at all. Were Great Brittain at Warr with France, the King of Great Brittain has constitutionally, the Power of making Peace ; a Chart Blanc in such an instance or Propositions from the Crown are of Force & to be attended to.

But this is quite a different Case, as has before been largely shewn. The Contest is between the People and their Parliament of Great Brittain, and the People and their Congress of the United Colonies. Consequently should the King send them a Chart Blanc, it would operate literally, as clean Paper, and no farther ; should he send them Propositions and promises to their utmost Demands, signed with his Sign Manual, and pass'd thro' all the Seals of Office, what would it be ? just nothing at all, nor could it be considered as any thing, as it is well known he can neither make, alter, or repeal an Act of Parliament, & it is under them the United Colonies complain. The Parliament will meet the 31st. of October ; they will be some Time in debate before they settle their Resolutions on this subject. Whatever their Resolutions may be they cannot arrive in America untill late in December, since the Parliament will not come to any definite Resolution untill they hear the full Resolution of their present Campaign, which cannot arrive untill November. One Observation more or rather Anecdote, which will speak for itself—Lord Howe carried out Propositions, it was reported of so favorable a Complexion that they must be accepted by the United

Colonies; this Report was Circulated everywhere by the Ministry who alone knew what they were. Mr. Deane (who knew not what they were) asserted they would not be listened to, or even Noticed, and this Confidence of his rested on the Nature of the Dispute, and his thorough knowledge of the Disposition of the United Colonies. What has been the Event?—Lord Howe on his Arrival sent in to New York his propositions, and a Proclamation; the Inhabitants and Army turned them into ridicule though his Lordship's Fleet and his Brother's numerous Army lay within sight to enforce them. His Lordship sent the like to the Governor of Rhode Island; Governor Cooke returned him the Declaration of independance for Answer. This is sufficient to shew there was good Grounds for what was asserted from the first on this Subject. But the Colonies have resolved to have foreign Alliances; Great Brittain, declaring them to be independant, is as much a Foreign Nation to them as any other, will they not prefer her Alliance? let it be first observed the United Colonies have made their first application to France; if France refuses, their next step cannot be foreseen. But whither a People urged, irritated, and roused by a long series of Oppressive Acts into Arms against their Oppressors, and after a Sharp and bloody Warr, in which their Enemies have practised every kind of Cruelty towards them, will prefer an Alliance with their Enemy or with a Nation that affords them seasonable Relief and Assistance, is a Question at once resolv'd by the Common Sense, and Common Feelings of every Man—in a Word, Stores arriving in November, and previous to that, a favorable Answer to the Queries, will not leave a possible doubt of the Consequence.

Paris, Sept^{r} 24th, 1776.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 585.

To Robert Morris.

Paris, Sept^{r}. 30, 1776.

D^{R}. Sir,—Y^{rs}. of the 5th June came to hand but y^{e} 25th. inst. M^{r}. Delap will inform you of the state of your Remittances to him. Mess^{rs}. Clifford & Teysett & M^{r}. Hodgson, of Amsterdam, have rec^{d}. next to nothing, about Two Hund^{d}. p^{ds}. by y^{r}. last acc^{t}. from y^{e} latter y^{e}. former had rec^{d}. nothing, from which you will perceive not one-third the sum proposed has come to hand & even out of that my private Expences & for promoting the other parts of my Commission, wh^{c}. were of the last importance, must take something, let me be ever so prudent & Cautious. To sollicit arms, Cloathing, & Tents for Thirty m̄ men, 200 Brass Cannon Mortars, & other stores in proportion, & to be destitute of one shilling in money exclusive of the fund of 40,000 £ Stg., originally designed for other affairs, which you know by the protests in London was my Case, left me in a Critical situation; to let slip or to let such an object suffer for want of ready money would be unpardonable, and yet that was taking from a Fund before deficient. I hope, however, to execute both, although not in the season I could have wished. I have, as you see, had but a few Days since the receiving of yours, in w^{h}. I have discoursed with some of the Persons to whom I had before proposed such a scheme, and I think it will take well, but as men of Property must be engaged it will be of importance that the remittances be made punctual. The Insurance I am sensible had better be in Europe, but it cannot be had at present but in Holland, where, I am told there [are] often Disputes with the Underwriters—it on the whole must be [done] in America. I can, I believe, engage for £100,000 St'g during this Winter; therefore will at present only urge on you to establish, if possible, some insuring office, for I shall write you further in a few Days. You have mentioned to me a Loan; I choose to speak of this in a particular

Lett^{r}. which I will endeavor to do by the young Gentleman going on Sunday next, to which refer wh^{t}. further I sh^{d}. wish to say in this. My Comp^{ts}. to M^{rs}. Morriss. Pray forward the trifles I am send'g to my little deserted Family as soon as rec^{d}., also the inclosed Lett^{rs}. Tobacco is rising fast; it is 7 Stiv^{s}. in Amst^{d}., and tho' the Farmers General Scheme it very artfully, they grow very anxious; they held high Terms on my first application; they are now applying to me, as are also some people further Northward, of which I will say more in my next. Compliments to all Friends, & God Bless & prosper America is the prayer of every one here, to which I say Amen & Amen.

Yrs.,

S. Deane.

I have wrote M^{r}. Delap, & enclose a Copy of that part of yours referring to their Commerce. I wait his answer.

To Robert Morris, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

To the Secret Committee of Congress.

Paris, October 1, 1776.

Gentlemen,—Mr. Morris's letters of the 4th and 5th June last of politicks and business, I received with the duplicates of my commission and instructions on the 25th ultimo. I stand corrected, and confine myself to politicks.

Your letter found me in a most critical situation. The Ministry had become extremely uneasy at your absolute silence, and the bold assertions of the British Ambassador that you were accommodating matters, aided by the black and villainous artifices of one or two of our own countrymen here, had brought them to apprehend not only a settlement between the two countries, but the most serious consequences to their

West India Islands, should we unite again with Great Britain. For me, alas! I had nothing left but to make the most positive assertions that no accommodation would or could take place, and to pledge myself in the strongest possible manner that thus would turn out the event. Yet so strong were their apprehensions that an order was issued to suspend furnishing me with stores. Think what I must feel upon such an occasion! Our friend, Monsieur Beaumarchais, exerted himself, and in a day or two obtained the orders to be countermanded, and every thing is again running on favourably.

For Heaven's sake, if you mean to have any connection with this Kingdom, be more assiduous in getting your letters here. I know not where the blame lies, but it must be heavy somewhere, when vessels were suffered to sail from Philadelphia and other ports, quite down to the middle of August, without a single line. This circumstance was urged against my assertions, and was near proving a mortal stab to my whole proceedings.

Dr. Williamson, of Philadelphia, and Colonel Mercer, of Virginia, have been in France. The latter, I believe, is still here. The former has returned, with his budget, for London. Under pretence of being an American, this man is doing the Colonies prodigious mischief, and the situation of affairs here, at this critical moment, renders it as dangerous for the Ministry to take him up as it is to let him alone. Let his name be known in America, and every one be put on their guard how they correspond with him.

One Mr. Hopkins, of Maryland, in this service, and who is in the rank of Brigadier-General, appeared desirous of going to America; but on my not paying him the regard he vainly thought himself entitled to, formed the dark design of defeating at one stroke my whole prospects as to supplies. At this critical period he pretended to be in my secrets, and roundly asserted that I had solely in view a reconciliation with Great

Britain, immediately after which the stores now furnishing would be used against France. This coming from a supposed enemy of Great Britain, from a native of America, from one who professed himself a zealous friend to the Colonies, you must suppose had weight. However thunderstruck I was, as well as my friend, Monsieur Beaumarchais, at this unexpected and last effort at treachery, we exerted ourselves and truth prevailed. This mischief has recoiled on himself, and having fallen into disgrace here he will strive to get to America, where he threatens, I hear, to do much mischief to me. However, he will not probably be permitted to depart, unless he slips off very privately. Should that be the case, or should he write letters, you have now a clue to unravel him and his proceedings.

It would be too tedious to recount what I have met with in this way. It has confined me not only to Paris, but to my chambers and pen for some weeks past, in drawing up, by way of memorial, the true state of the Colonies, their true interests, the system of policy they must unquestionably pursue, and that the highest interests of France are inseparably connected therewith. I do not mention a single difficulty with one complaining thought for myself. My all is devoted, and I am happy in being so far successful, and that the machinations of my enemies, or rather the enemies of my country, have given me, finally, an opportunity of experiencing the friendship and protection of great and valuable men. But it is necessary that you should know as much as possible of my situation.

The stores are collecting, and I hope will be embarked by the middle of this month. If later I shall incline to send them by Martinico, on account of the season. It is consistent with a political letter to urge your remittance of the fourteen thousand hogsheads of tobacco, wrote for formerly, in part payment of these stores. If you make it twenty, the publick will be

gainers, as the article is rising fast—in Holland seven stivers ten pounds, and must be in a proportion here.

You are desired by no means to forget Bermuda. If you should, Great Britain will seize it this winter—or France on the first rupture, having been made sensible of its importance by the officious zeal of that same Mr. Hopkins.

As your navy is increasing, will you commission me to send you duck for twenty or thirty sail? I can procure it for you to the northward on very good terms, and you have on hand the produce wanted to pay for it with.

Have you granted commissions against the Portugese? All the friends to America in Europe call loudly for such a measure.

Would you have universal commerce, commission some person to visit every kingdom on the Continent that can hold any commerce with America. Among them by no means forget Prussia.

Grain will be in demand in this kingdom and in the south of Europe. Permit me again to urge the increase of the navy. Great Britain is calling in her Mediterranean passes, to expose us to the Algerines. I propose applying to this Court on that subject.

Doctor Bancroft, of London, merits much of the Colonies. As I shall now have frequent opportunities of writing by officers and others going out, I will not add more than that one Mr. Carmichael has now been with me some time, recommended by Mr. A. Lee, of London. I owe much to him for his assistance in my despatches, and for his friendly and sensible advice on all occasions. He is of Maryland, and is here for his health, and proposes going soon for America. I expect to hear from London to-morrow, by Doctor B., who is on his way here.

I am, with my most sincere respect and esteem for the Secret Committee, and most profound regard to the honourable Congress, your most obedient and very humble servant, SILAS DEANE.

An agent from Barbadoes is arrived in London, to represent their distresses; another from Bermuda, with a declaration to the Ministry of the necessity of their being supplied with provisions from the Colonies, and saying if not permitted they must ask the protection of Congress.

P.S.—I have to urge your sending to me, either a general power for the purpose or a number of blank commissions for vessels of war. It is an object of the last importance, for in this time of peace between the nations of Europe, I can be acquainted with the time of every vessel sailing, either from England or Portugal, and by despatching little vessels, armed, from hence, and to appearance property of the subjects of the United States of America, to seize them while unsuspicious on this coast, and to stand directly for America with them, great reprisals may be made; and persons of the first property have already solicited me on the occasion. Indeed, they have such an opinion of my power that they have offered to engage in such an adventure if I would authorize them with my name; but this might as yet be rather dangerous. It is certainly, however, a very practicable and safe plan, to arm a ship here, as if for the coast of Africa or the West Indies, wait until some ship of value is sailing from England or Portugal, slip out at once and carry them on to America. When arrived, the armed vessel increases your navy, and the prize supplies the country.

Since writing the foregoing I waited on Mr. Beaumarchais, and while in conversation on our affairs Mr. Hopkins came in. He was surprised at seeing me, and evidently fluttered at the apprehensions that Mons'r B. M. had been informing me of his informations to the Ministry; and on my charging him with it and expostulating, he boldly maintained his information to be true, and that his zeal for and fidelity to this kingdom would not permit him to keep it a secret, and had the confidence to charge me with saying that

I meant a reconciliation, &c., &c. He, however, previously acknowledged there had been a coldness and indifference between us for more than three weeks, during which he complained that I would not let him speak to me alone. I was, he said, so very reserved towards him, yet his zeal had prompted him to make this information only two days before this and immediately on his resenting a reception I gave him at my lodgings. These and many other circumstances convinced me on what grounds and with what real intention it was made; to which I added, that I could not condescend to confront Mr. Hopkins as on a level, but if one doubt remained in the minds of any one of the Ministry, my correspondence since in France, which I had minutely copied, as well as my most secret conversation to my most confidential friends might be examined into, and I would fall if a single sentence ever escaped me tending in the least to what Mr. Hopkins asserted. He then persevered in his assertions and laboured to make the dispute personal. He finally declared his resolution of going to America, and gave hints what he would do there; to which I replied he was at his liberty, but justice to my country would oblige me to transmit a true narration of his conduct, and the bold attempt he had made to intercept the sending out of supplies, which could be exceeded by nothing but his inconsistency in pretending to offer his service to a country which he had laboured to injure so materially.

We parted, and nothing in his power will be left unattempted against me pretendedly, but against the Colonies ultimately. However, I am under no great apprehensions. Such a man when known ceases to be formidable; but I can by no means avoid cautioning you against him should he escape into America, as one of those restless and unquiet spirits ever dangerous in civil society, but more so in military operations. Inveterate as he is, I can manage him in such a Government as this, better than you can in America.

I say, if he escapes, for at present he is closely watched in all his motions, but he may write letters; and under pretence of friendship for America cause some uneasiness here. Should he persevere in his machinations he would soon wind himself up; indeed, I am apprehensive he will, but am determined never more to put myself or any affair of mine in his way. The Ministry are satisfied with my conduct in the affair, and I believe mean to use the present occasion for dismissing him, which as he may be apprehensive of, he will push the harder to get away for America.

It is of importance, as I have mentioned in my former letters, to have some one deputed and empowered to treat with the King of Prussia. I am acquainted with his agent here, and have already, through him, received some queries and proposals respecting American commerce, to which am preparing a reply. I have also an acquaintance with the agent of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who proposes fixing a commerce between the United Colonies and Leghorn, but has not as yet given me his particular thoughts. France and Spain are naturally our allies. The Italian States want our flour and some other articles. Prussia, ever pursuing her own interests, needs but be informed of some facts relative to America's increasing commerce to favour us. Holland will pursue its system, now fixed, of never quarreling with any one on any occasion whatever. In this view is seen at once the power we ought to apply to and gain a good acquaintance with. Let me again urge you on the subject of tobacco. One hint further; it is this: Should you apportion a certain tract of the western lands, to be divided at the close of this war among the officers and soldiers serving in it, and make a generous allotment, it would, I think, have a good effect in America, as the poorest soldiers would then be fighting literally for a freehold; in Europe it would operate beyond any pecuniary offers. I have no time to enlarge on the thought, but may take it up hereafter; if I do not,

it is an obvious one, and if capable of execution, you can manage it to the best advantage.

I have no doubt but I can obtain a loan for the Colonies, if empowered, and on very favorable terms. I have already sounded on this subject, and will be more explicit hereafter, both as to my proposals, for I can go no further, and the answers I may receive.

I am, as ever, yours,

SILAS DEANE.

Force's American Archives, 5th Series, II., 810.

FROM THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, October 1st, 1776.

DEAR SIR,—Mr. Morris has communicated to us the substance of your letters to him down to the 23rd June when you was near setting out for Paris. We hope your reception there has been equal to your expectation and our wishes ; indeed we have no reason to doubt it considering the countenance we have met with amongst the French Islands, and their seaports in Europe. It would be very agreeable and usefull to hear from you just now in order to form more certain [opinions] of the designs of the French Court respecting us and our contest, especially as we learn by various ways they are fitting out a considerable squadron at Brest and Toulon. What a noble Stroke they might now Strike at New York. Twenty Sail of the line would take the whole Fleet there, consisting of between 4 & 500 Sail of Men War, Transports, Stores ships and prizes ; was that piece of business once effected by a French Fleet we wou'd engage to give them a very good Account of Gen[l] Howe's Army in a Short time. But, alas, we fear the Court of France will let slip the Glorious opportunity and go to war by halves as we have done ; we say go to war because we are of opinion they must take part in the war, sooner or later, and the longer they are about it, the worse terms will they come in upon. We doubt not you will obtain from

England a regular account of the proceedings of L^d^ Howe and his Brother, and we suppose the General's Military opperations will be ushered into the world with an eclat beyond their true merits, or at least, the conduct of our people and their present situation will be misrepresented as ten times worse than the reality. We shall therefore State these things to you as they really are. The Fleet under L^d^ Howe you know is vastly superior to anything we have in the Navy way; consequently whereever Ships can move they must command; therefore it was long foreseen that we cou'd not hold either Long Island or New York. Nevertheless as our fortifications were chiefly built with Axes and Spades the time and trouble in raising them was not mispent, for it must have been oweing to those works that they remained several weeks at Staten Island without making any attempt. The first they did make was on Long Island when they landed 20,000 men or upwards. At this time we had our Army consisting of not more than 20,000 Effective men stationed at King's bridge, New York and Long Island. 6 to 7,000 was the whole of our Force on the latter, and about 3,000 of them commanded by Gen^l^ Sullivan & L^d^ Stirling, turned out of the Lines took possession of some heights and intended to annoy the Enemy in their approaches. They however out General'd us, and got a body of 5,000 Men between our people and the Lines, so that we were surrounded and of course came off second best, but they purchased the victory dear and many such would be their ruin. Sullivan, L^d^ Stirling and many other officers fell into their hands; these with privates amounted to from 800 to 1,000 Men in killed, wounded and taken Prisoners. They lost a greater number in killed and wounded but we took but few prisoners as you may suppose. Gen^l^ Howe then laid a Trap in which he fully expected to have caught every man we had on that Island, but Gen^l^ Washington saw and frustrated his design by an unexpected and well conducted re-

treat across the Sound. This retreat is spoke of on both sides as a Master Stroke. The Enemy immediately marched up a large Body of Men opposite to Hell Gate. Our people threw up entrenchments on York Island to oppose their landing, but Shame to say it, on the day of Tryal two Brigades behaved infamously and cou'd not be Stopped by the intreaty or Threats of the General who came up in the midst of their flight. It had been previously determined to abandon New York and most of our Cannon and Military Stores were removed from thence in time. The Enemy took possession of the city and incamped on the plains of Harlem. Our side occupy the Heights of Harlem, King's bridge and Mount Washington where they have made Lines as Strong as can be. In this situation they had a Skirmish between about 1,000 to 1,200 Men on each Side in which we gained greatly the advantage, beat them off the Field and took three Field pieces from them, having killed and wounded Considerable Numbers of their Men. Since then the City of New York has been on Fire and it's said one fifth or one Sixth of it is reduced to Ashes. The Enemy charged some stragglers of our people that happened to be in New York with having set the City on Fire designedly and took that occasion as we are told to exercise some inhuman Crueltys on those poor Wretches that were in their power. They will no doubt endeavour to throw the odium of such a Measure on us, but in this they will fail, for Gen! Washington previous to the evacuation of that City whilst it was in his power to do as he pleased with it, desired to know the sense of Congress, respecting the destruction of the City, as many officers had given it as their opinion it would be an advisable measure, but Congress Resolved that it should be evacuated and left unhurt as they had no doubt of being able to take it back at a future day. This will convince all the World we had no desire to burn Towns or destroy Citys but that we left such Meritorious works to grace

the History of our Enemies. Upon the whole our Army near New York are not sufficiently strong to Cope with Gen! Howe in the open Field ; they have therefore entrenched themselves and act on the defensive. They want better Arms, better Tents, and more Cloathing than they now have, nor is in our power at this time to supply them, consequently we cannot recruit or encrease that Army under these discouragements. Men cannot chearfully enter a Service where they have the prospect of faceing a powerfull Enemy and encountering the inclemency of a hard, cold winter, without covering, at the same time. These are discouraging circumstances but we must encounter them with double dilligence, and we Still have hopes to procure Cloathing partly by Importation, partly by Capture, and chiefly by purchasing all that can be found on the Continent. If France means to befriend us or wishes us well they shou'd send us succors in good Muskets, Blankets Cloaths, Coatings and proper Stuff for Tents, also in ammunition—but not like the Venetians wait untill we are beat and then send assistance. We are willing to pay for them, and shall be able soon as we can Safely export our Tobacco and other valueable produce.

Our Northern Army is Strong, well entrenched in an advantageous Post at Tyconderago which can only be taken from them by Storm as it cannot be approached in a regular manner on account of the Situation. We are also formidable on the Lakes in Galleys, Boats & Gondolas under command of your friend Arnold, and that Army is better provided than the other, so that we do not seem to apprehend any danger in that quarter at present. The Southern States are for the present in peace and quietness except some interruptions from the Indians who were instigated thereto by M[r] Stewart the superintendant and other Agents from our Enemies ; however, they have not any cause to rejoice in those machinations as yet, for the Carolineans and Virginians have attacked

and beat them several times, destroyed several of their Towns & Corn Feilds and made them repent Sorely what they have done, so that we have little to apprehend on account of Indians.

The Only Source of uneasiness amongst us arises from the Number of Tories we find in every State; they are More Numerous than formerly & speak more openly. But Tories are now of various kinds and various principles; some are so from real attachment to Britain; some from interested Views, many, very many from fear of the British Force; some because they are dissatisfied with the General Measures of Congress, more because they disapprove of the Men in power & the measures in their respective States; but these different passions views and expectations are so combined in their Consequences that the parties affected by them, either withhold their assistance or oppose our operations, and if America falls it will be oweing to Such divisions more than the force of our Enemies. However, there is much to be done before America can be lost, and if France will but join us in time there is no danger but America will soon be established an Independent Empire, and France drawing from her the principal part of those sources of wealth & power that formerly flowed into Great Britain will immediately become the greatest power in Europe. We have given you as just a Picture of our present Situation as we can draw in the compass of a Letter, in Order that you may be well informed, but you will only impart such circumstances as you may think prudent.

Our Frigates are fine Vessels but we meet with difficulty in procuring Guns and Anchors; our people are but young in casting the former, and we want Coals to make the latter; however these difficulties we shall surmount and are bent on building some Line of Battle Ships immediately. The Success in privateering and encouragement given by the Merchants will inevitably bring Seamen amongst us; this with the measures that will be adopted to encourage the

breeding of Seamen amongst ourselves, will in a few Years make us respectable on the Ocean. Surely France cannot be so blind to her own Interest as to neglect this Glorious opportunity of destroying the power and humbling the pride of her Natural and our declared enemy.

We make no doubt you have been made acquainted with the Negotiations of Mons^r^ Hortalez, and in consequence thereof we conclude that you will be at no loss to obtain the supplies of Goods wanted for a particular department, notwithstanding we know that the Greatest part of those Remittances that were intended you have been intercepted by One means or other. It is unfortunate and much to be regretted that those remittances have had such Ill fate, but we hope you have obtained the Goods on Credit, and you may depend that Remittances will be continued until all your engagements are discharged. Cloathing and Tents are so much wanted for our Armys that we intreat you to apply immediately to the Court of France for a Loan of money Sufficient to dispatch immediately very considerable quantities of Stuff fit for Tents, & of Coarse Cloths, Coatings, Stockings and such other comfortable necessarys for any Army as you can readily judge will be proper. You will get these goods sent out direct in French Vessels or to their Islands where we can send for them, but if you cou'd prevail on the Court of France to send out Men of War with them it wou'd be most acceptable. Whatever engagements you make, for payment of the cost of such Cloathing and Necessarys, the Congress will order Sufficient Remittances to fullfill the Same, but in our circumstances it requires time to accomplish them. You'l observe the Secret Committee have given orders to M^r^ Thomas Morris to procure sundry articles and dispatch them immediately, and if you succeed in the negotiation of a loan from the Court for this purpose you may employ him or act in Conjunction with him, to procure and dispatch

those articles ordered by them and such others as you shall judge Necessary and the Remittances to be made him will serve to refund the Loan. Should the Court decline this matter, perhaps Farmers General may be induced to advance the money or Stake their Credit, for the Sake of securing the Tobacco the Secret Committee will remit to Europe. These things we throw out as hints, and Shall only further observe that you cannot render your injured Country more essential service at this time than by procuring these Supplies immediately.

We are told our vigilant enemies have demanded of the Courts of France, Spain, and Portugal to deliver up the American Ships in their Ports, and to forbid their having any further intercourse with them; that the Court of Portugal has complyed so far as to order our Ships away on ten days notice; that France & Spain gave evasive answers. This is private uncertain intelligence, but we think you will do well, to intimate to the Ministers of those Nations, that first impressions are lasting, that the time has been when they stood much in need of American Supplies, that such time may come again, that altho we are Stiled Rebels by Britain, yet our Friendship may hereafter be of the utmost importance to those powers particularly that possess American Colonies, and that injuries now done us will not be easily effaced. These hints and arguments you'l offer as the suggestions of your own mind and endeavour to influence them by Interest or fear from taking any part against us. On the contrary as it is evidently their Interest to encourage our Commerce, so we hope you'l be able to influence them by One Means or other to protect and Licence it in the utmost extent. We shall not take up more of your time at present but remain

Sir

Your very hble Servants

B. Franklin,
Robt. Morris.

To Silas Deane Esqr

Lee Papers, Harvard University.

FROM THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, October 2, 1776.

SIR,—We have this day received from the honourable the Congress of Delegates of the United States of America the important papers which accompany this letter: being first, a treaty of commerce and alliance between the Court of France and these States; second, instructions to their Commissioners relative to the said treaty; and, lastly, a commission whereby you will find that Doctor Franklin, the Hon. Thomas Jefferson and yourself are appointed Commissioners for negotiating the said treaty at the Court of France. These papers speak for themselves, and need no strictures or remarks from us, neither is it our business to make any.

You will observe that in case of the absence or disability of any one or two of the Commissioners, the other has full power to act. We therefore think it proper to inform you, that Doctor Franklin and Mr. Jefferson will take passage with all speed; but it is necessary that their appointment on this business remain a profound secret, and we do not choose even to trust this paper with their route. Suffice it therefore that you expect them soon after this reaches your hands, and if you don't see some evident advantage will arise by communicating this commission to the French Ministry immediately, we give it as our opinion you had best suspend it until the arrival of one or both these gentlemen, because you will then benefit of each other's advice and abilities, and we apprehend their arrival will give additional importance to the embassy. But should you be of opinion that delay will be in the least degree injurious to our country or its cause, you must by all means use your own discretion in this matter, wherein we are not authorized to instruct or advise; we only offer you our thoughts on the subject. Should you think proper to disclose this commission to the Ministers of France, enjoin the strictest secrecy respecting the names, or

rather insist that it be not made known to any persons but those whose office and employments entitle them to the communication, that any other are joined with you in it; because, if that circumstance reaches England before their arrival it will evidently endanger their persons.

The Congress have ordered the Secret Committee to lodge ten thousand pounds sterling in France, subject to the orders of the Commissioners, for their support, &c., and you may depend that remittances will be made for that purpose with all possible diligence. We can also inform you that you may expect instructions for forming treaties with other nations; consequently you will cultivate a good understanding with all the Foreign Ministers.

We have committed these important despatches to the care of Mr. William Hodge, Jun., who, we hope, will in due time have the pleasure to deliver them in person. He knows nothing more of their contents than that they are important; and in case of capture, his orders are to sink them in the sea. This young gentleman's character, family, and alertness in the publick service, all entitle him to your notice. He is also charged with some business from the Secret Committee, wherein your countenance and assistance may be useful. You will, no doubt, extend it to him, and also engage Mr. Morris's exertions therein.

You will please to advance Mr. Hodge the value of one hundred and fifty pounds sterling for his expenses, and transmit us his receipt for the same.

We most fervently pray for a successful negotiation; and are with the utmost attention and regard, dear sir, your affectionate friends, and obedient humble servants,

——— ———.

To Silas Deane, Esq.

P. S. Mr. Hodge has some instructions from the Secret Committee, which he will lay before you, and if

the negotiation of Mons. Hortalez, respecting arms and ammunition, has been conducted with success, it will be needless for Mr. Hodge to make contracts for those articles. You will know how that matter is, and direct Mr. Hodge accordingly, and if you should think it of more consequence to send him immediately back here with despatches than to employ him in the business that Committee have proposed, he will obey your orders, and Mr. Morris may do the other.

Force's American Archives, 5th Series, II., 839.

To Charles W. F. Dumas.

Paris, October 3d, 1776.

Dear Sir,—Since my last, in which I mentioned the King of Prussia, I have obtained a method of sounding that monarch's sentiments more directly through another channel which, voluntarily offering, I have accepted, and therefore waive writing on the subject for the present any thing save that you may undoubtedly serve the United States of America most essentially in this affair in a few weeks from this.

The attention to my business here, which is not merely political, but partly commercial, the critical situation of affairs at this Court, and the anxious suspense for the events at New York and Canada have actually fixed me here, and the having received no intelligence for some time past has well nigh distracted me. I have, however, favorable prospects, and the most confirmed hope of effecting my views in Europe. I am too much engaged to say more in this, and will be more particular in my next.

I am, &c.,

Silas Deane.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., IX., 291.

From Arthur Lee.

Dear Sir,—I have not yet received any answer to the one I wrote to you, & the two which I have written to M^r. Carmichael. We have no late Advices from America. The Ministry certainly mean to hazard another Campaign, & I am well informed the field of it is fixed within the Capes of Virginia, shou'd they fail to the Northward. I am not able to learn, with any certainty, how they succeed in their negotiations with Russia. I have no doubt you will be able to obtain sufficient intelligence on that subject. Be so good as to address the inclosed to the Congress, or the Committee of Safety, as you judge most proper.

My Brother, the Alderman, will be in Paris nearly as soon as this. He wishes to converse with you on some commercial subjects. He brings no Letter from me, for fear of Accidents. I have sent by him two Dictionaries, & have one myself of the same Edition. If you send one of them to the Congress & keep the other, we shall be enabled to correspond in perfect secrecy. In order to render it still more impenetrable the words which are not in the Book, as the name of Countries, & of foreign Places, none of which, I think, it contains, may be written in french, which will mislead them to endeavor to decypher the whole in that language. It will be necessary to add the plural number & the inflexions of verbs in Letters, as thus: Ships, Shipping, 336s, h 2, 336 ing, iz. You will see in p. xi. the Letters of the Alphabet by which I mark the words in the page. Be so good as to give my Brother the Book you have, as I find the edition corresponds with one sent to another quarter, & I cannot get a similar one.

Remember me to M^r. Carmichael, who is by this time, I hope, perfectly recovered.

I am, Dear Sir,
with great esteem, yrs.,
Arthur Lee.

Oct. 4^th., 1776.

Will you have the goodness to forward the inclosed by Post, to Nantz.

To Silas Deane, Esq^r, Paris.

Thomas Mss.

FROM ROBERT MORRIS.

Philadelphia, Oct^r. 4^th. 1776.

SILAS DEANE, ESQ^R.

DEAR SIR,—I have rec^d since my letter of the 12^th ult^o. your favor of the 23^d June, and am extremely concerned to find most of the Bills you carryed out or have been remitted to you have been noted & likely that some of them will be protested. There is great reason to believe Ministerial Influence is used to prevent the payment of many bills in London, indeed, I am informed by a Gent^n now here that he knew it to be the case with some of my House's Drafts; they first prevailed to have them protested and then circulated a report that the sum was ten times as much as the reality,—this I suppose to hurt our Credit with others, for they had Information we were transacting business for the Congress. However, if they do us no greater Injury than that I shall be happy having taken up & paid all such Drafts as have come back; the amount hitherto is not above £2,000 st'g and we have not £4,000 st'g depending, but it now seems a matter of doubt if any bills will be paid or whether they will seize on the property of Individuals; if they do that we must make reprizals here, and in the mean time we shall use our utmost Endeavours to lodge sufficient Effects in Europe to make good yours & all other Engagements on account of the publick; therefore, be not dismayed if they do not arrive as fast as you cou'd wish; make allowances for the power of our Enemy by Sea & the disappointments that must inevitably happen thereby, consider the great value we have to remit and how bulky most Commodities of this Country are; these & other Circumstances must

prevent that punctuality we cou'd wish but all that can be done shall be done. I am happy to find my recommendations have had the desired Effect & that you have been so well received thus far as you had gone to the 23d June. I hope we shall soon hear of your further progress. Such parts of your letters as ought shall be communicated to the Congress or Committee whenever necessary.

The Dispatches that go by this Conveyance will probably open your views in the political Line. I have, therefore, determined to push my Brother in the Commercial; the Secret Committee has sent him a large order by this Conveyance and directed me to make him Consignm^{ts}. I hope he will meet your advice & assistance whenever necessary and I doubt not before this time he will have recommended himself to you for I think he has a good Heart & clear head; I expect also he has & will be useful to you in many respects. I think you shou'd at all Events procure a Loan of Money either from the Government or the Farmers General to pay for the Goods ordered which may be repaid out of the remittances to be made. I also wish you wou'd assist in procuring Insurances against all risques including those of British Men of War & Cruizers, &c. I recommend M^{r}. Ross also to your Services & assistance if you fall in with him. I need not say any thing to you on political Subjects; you'll have enough of that from other quarters. I will, however, tell you that your Interest is well supported in Congress & if you have any Enemies there they are not from the middle or Southern States.

You may depend that I shall ever be mindful of you while I hold a Seat in the publick Councils & ever after in my private Capacity, being with sincere Regard & Esteem,

D^{r} Sir,

Your most Obed^{t} Servant,

Rob^{t} Morris.

Thomas Mss.

To Charles W. F. Dumas.

Paris, October 6th, 1776.

Sir,—Yours of the 1st instant I received, and observe by the contents that Mr. Lee is returned to London. I have not seen Mr. Ellis. In answer to your queries: First, a reconciliation between Great Britain and the United States of America is improbable ever to take place; it is absolutely impossible until after the sitting of Parliament. Secondly, Admiral Howe joined his brother early in August, and sent on shore to General Washington a letter, which was returned unopened, as no title was given to General Washington. A second was sent, and met the same fate. The Congress justified the General in his conduct, and ordered him to receive no letters except they were directed to him with his proper title. Lord Howe sent to the Governors of several Colonies his proclamation, which, by the army and people of New York was treated with contempt and ridicule.

Thus matters continued until the 20th of August, when General Howe had collected his whole force, and was preparing to attack New York. On the other side, all the eminences and advantageous posts near the city were secured and fortified, and the Americans strongly entrenched on them; the City of New York fortified with batteries next to the water, and all the principal streets with barriers across them, and at the same time the houses filled with combustibles, ready to be set on fire, should the city be found tenable. The two men-of-war, which had passed up the river above the city, were returned terribly damaged by attacking a battery. This, in a word, was the state of affairs in New York on the 20th of August, from which important news may be expected every hour.

Thirdly, I know what Dr. Franklin's sentiments were when I left America, and that nothing but a miracle could convert him to wish for an accommodation on

other terms than the independance of the Colonies. Depend upon it, my good friend, the Ministry of Great Britain labor incessantly to propagate stories of an accommodation, for it is well known that they despair of reducing the Colonies by arms this campaign, at the close of which the national debt will amount to nearly £150,000,000 sterling, part of which will remain unfunded; and where are their resources for supporting the next campaign? He that can discover the philosopher's stone can answer.

To your Fourth query, you will excuse my answering more, than that your conjecture is not far out of the way. My letter will inform you why I must still delay sending what I promised you the 14th ultimo. In the meantime, Sir, you may add to indigo and rice, tobacco, logwood, redwood, sugar, coffee, and other West India produce, which pass through the hands of the North Americans in payment for their supplies to the West India Islands, which cannot exist without their produce. Also in course of trade, spermaceti oil and salt fish may be supplied to Prussia and Germany as cheap, or cheaper, from the Colonies than from Holland and Germany. The United Colonies exported to Europe, chiefly, indeed, to Great Britain, fish-oil, whalebone, spermaceti, furs, and peltry of every kind, masts, spars, and timber, pot and pearl ashes, flax-seed, beef, pork, butter and cheese, horses and oxen; to the West Indies chiefly wheat-flour, bread, rye, Indian corn, lumber, tobacco, iron, naval stores, beeswax, rice, and indigo, &c., &c., to the amount of more than £4,000,000 sterling, annually, and for some years past, and received the pay in European manufactures; and when I remind you that the inhabitants of that country double their number every twenty years, and inform you that the exportation has increased for the last century in the same ratio, you will be able to form some idea of this commerce and of how much importance it is to Europe. I hope, by the coming post, to send you some favor-

able news from America, and I may not add to this without missing the post.

I am with the most sincere esteem, Dear Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
SILAS DEANE.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., IX., 291.

TO THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.

Paris, 8th October, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,—Your Declaration of the fourth of July last has given this Court, as well as several others in Europe, reason to expect you would in form announce your Independancy to them, and ask their friendship ; but a three months' silence on that subject appears to them mysterious, and the more so as you declared for foreign alliances. This silence has again given me the most inexpressible anxiety, and has more than once come near frustrating my whole endeavors ; on which subject I refer you to mine of the first instant.

Employ must be found for the forces of Great Britain out of the United States of North America. The Caribbs in St. Vincent, if set agoing, may be supplied through Martinico with stores. The Mountain negroes in Jamaica may employ a great number of their forces. This is not employing slaves, which, however, the example of our enemy authorizes. Should there arise trouble in these two Islands, which a very little money would effect, the consequence would be that Great Britain, which can by no means think of giving them up, would be so far from being able to increase her forces on the Continent, that she must withdraw a large part to defend her Islands. I find every one here acquainted with Bermuda, is in my sentiments ; and by the officiousness of the treacherous Hopkins the ministry here have got it by the end. This makes me the more solicitous

that the Island should be fortified this winter if practicable.

Tobacco in Holland is at the enormous price of seven stivers, and will soon be as dear in France and Germany, &c. I have promised that you will send out twenty thousand hogsheads this winter, in payment of the articles wanted here. Let me advise you to ship the whole to Bordeaux, after which it may be shipped in French bottoms to any other port. The price will pay the convoy; therefore I would recommend the vessels in which it should be shipped should be armed, and that each ship shall sail under convoy of one of your frigates, which may also ballast with it. This will be safer than coming in a fleet. On their arrival Messrs. Delap, whose zeal and fidelity in our service is great, will be directed by me, or in my absence by Mons. B. M. or ostensibly Messrs. Hortalez & Co., where to apply the money. Eight or ten of your frigates thus collected at Bordeaux, with a proper number of riflemen as marines, where they might have leisure to refit and procure supplies, would strike early next season a terrible blow to the British commerce in Europe, and obtain a most noble indemnity. The appearance of American cruisers in those seas has amazed the British merchants, and insurance will now be on the war establishment. This will give the rival nations a great superiority in commerce, of which they cannot be insensible; and as our vessels of war will be protected in the ports of France and Spain, the whole of the British commerce will be exposed. I hope to have a liberty for the disposal of prizes here, but dare not engage for that. The last season the whole coast of England, Scotland, and Ireland has been, and still remains, unguarded; three or four frigates arriving, as they certainly might, unexpectedly, would be sufficient to pillage Port Glasgow or other western towns. The very alarm which this would occasion might have the most surprising and important effects, and in this method it might be effected with the utmost certainty

if entered upon early next spring; but should that be laid aside, the having five or six more of your stoutest ships in these ports, where you may every day receive intelligence of what is about to sail from England, and would put it in our power to make great reprisals.

I wrote for blank commissions or a power to grant commissions to ships of war. Pray forward them, as here are many persons wishing for an opportunity of using them in this way; they will take a cargo in an armed vessel for America, and if they meet with anything in their way take it with them. The granting commissions against Portugal would ensure the friendship of Spain. Grain will bear a great price in this kingdom and the south of Europe; and I have made application to the Minister of Marine to supply masts and spars from America for the French navy. Pray inform me how and on what terms the British navy formerly used to be supplyed from New England. I am fully of opinion that a war must break out soon and become general in Europe. I need say no more on the situation I am in for want of your further instructions. I live in hopes, but should I be much longer disappointed, the affairs I am upon, as well as my credit, must suffer, if not be absolutely ruined. My most respectful compliments to the honorable Congress.

I am, gentlemen,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

SILAS DEANE.

Force's American Archives, Fifth Series, II., 937.

TO CHARLES W. F. DUMAS.

Paris, October 9, 1776.

SIR,—I wrote you by last post. This comes by Mr. Carmichael, a gentleman of Maryland, in America, who, as for some time he has lived with and assisted

me in my business, you can have the fullest confidence in him, and as he knows I place the most absolute in you, it would be trifling to swell a letter with news or observations of both which he can, *viva voce*, satisfy you. He will communicate to you his business in Holland, and I am sure you will assist him to the utmost of your power. He can tell you what an anxious and what a laborious life I lead here; and, what adds to my misfortune, how impossible it is in the present critical situation of affairs, for me to quit this post for a single day; much more it is, as yet, impossible for me to leave this long enough to visit you in Holland; which having long promised to myself and anticipated with pleasure, the disappointment greatly chagrins me. To have so kind and hospitable, and at the same time so judicious and sage a friend, inviting me to what must at once yield me the purest of pleasures and the most solid advantage, viz., an interview, and not to be able to profit by it at once, is a misfortune I feel most sensibly, and which I wish to none, even of the worst of enemies. Mr. Carmichael can give you the best intelligence of our present affairs in America, and his observations and inferences will be from the best grounds, and made with precision and judgment. My most grateful and respectful acknowledgments to your lady, who I yet may have the honour of waiting on, in the course of a month, and I promise not to leave this spot for any purpose in preference (unless to save my country). I have the honour to be, with the greatest esteem, sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

SILAS DEANE.

The Port Folio, III., 247, *July* 30, 1803.

TO CHARLES W. F. DUMAS.

Paris, October 13, 1776.

SIR,—Before the receipt of this, you will have seen

Mr. Carmichael, to whom I refer you on many subjects. Yours of the 8th I received since his departure, and have only to ask of you to procure the proper testimonials of this very extraordinary and cruel proceeding at H———, respecting Mr. Shoemaker, a family of which name I knew in Philadelphia. These testimonials will be a proper ground to go upon in demanding satisfaction, which I do not think, however, had best be asked until the independance of the Colonies has been formally announced; and proper powers for this step have been delayed strangely, or perhaps interrupted. Your zeal in this cause reflects honour on your private as well as publick sentiments of justice and rectitude, and I will transmit to the honourable Congress of the United States in my first letters a copy of your memoir. I am still without intelligence of any kind from America, save that on the 20th of August a battle was hourly expected at New York. No prospect of reconciliation. The British forces in Canada are not likely to effect any thing this season, and, consequently, all hopes in England rest on the event of a single action at New York, which the publick are made to believe will prove decisive; and so it may, if the fate of the day should be for us, as the enemy have no retreat or resources in America; but by no means decisive if it incline the other way. I trouble you with the enclosed for Mr. Carmichael, that should he not have left you his direction send it, under cover, to Messrs. Clifford and Tysett, Amsterdam, to whom he is also addressed.

I am, with the greatest respect, your much obliged and very Humble Servant,

SILAS DEANE.

October 18th.

I missed the last post, and since which yours of the 10th is come to hand. By the critical situation of affairs, &c., I mean, that, on my part, I am writing for instructions, without which I cannot proceed, and my

enemies are insinuating that none will ever be received, and that the Colonies mean either to submit, or accommodate, &c.

The Port Folio, III., 247, *July* 30, 1803.

To Count de Vergennes.

Paris, October 13th, 1776.

Sir,—The enclosed extract of a Letter from a Freind of undoubted Credit, at Bilboa, occasions my Troubling your Excellency at this Time. As the Congress have no Agent at present, at the Court of Madrid, I am apprehensive that the British Ambassador will endeavor to take advantage of this Circumstance to obtain some resolution respecting this Vessel, not so much to operate as by way of reprisal, as by way of precedent for future proceedings, & by the report of any decree or decision against this Vessel to discourage any future adventures of the Armed Vessels of America in those Seas against British Shipps. The Facts are indisputably these: That the Shipp was Commissioned by the Congress of the United Colonies or States of North America. That in her passage to Europe She made several prizes of Shipps belonging to Great Brittain, with which said States are in open Warr. That depending on the supposed neutrality of his most Catholic Majesty, the Captain peaceably entered one of his Ports, And that the Agents of Great Brittain, laying a Charge of Piracy to the charge of the Captain, & having procured a detention of the Vessel, are laboring to have her proceeded against & confiscated. Were the Value of the Vessel all that depended on the Resolution, I would hardly trouble Your Excellency on the Subject, but leave the Captain & his Owner to console themselves for their Loss, out of the reprisals they have made, but when so much depends on this determination, should it be unfavorable to the Captain, I can

but be anxious to have everything necessary and prudent done, and I conceive my Application to Your Excellency is not improper, for advice and direction, for which would have done myself the honor of waiting on You in person, but for Prudential motives, and that probably a line from Your Excellency might give me all the Directions Necessary. Meantime I beg leave to suggest that as the line of Conduct towards the United Colonies or States of N. America will undoubtedly be uniformly the same by this Court & that of Spain, and as the Eyes & Hopes of the United Colonies are on those Two Kingdoms as their most Natural Freinds & Allies, it might be extremely prejudicial to take so discouraging a measure as that of excluding American Cruisers intirely from these Ports at so Critical a Period of their affairs, and that, undoubtedly, the Court of Spain will not proceed in this Affair without a previous Consultation with the Court of France.

I have the honor to be, with the most profound Respect,

Your Excellency's most Obedt. &
Very Humble Servt.,
S. DEANE.

P. S. I received the Letter late last Evening.

ENCLOSURE.

Bilboa, Oct. 2d, 1776.

* * Capt. John Lee, of a Letter of Marque Schooner of eight Carriage & 14 swivel Gunns, belonging to my Friends, Jackson, Tracy & Tracy, of Newbury Port (New England), arrived here the Evening before last. On his passage he made Prize of 5 British Vessels, and sent them back to America; one of them was a Transport ship, mounted with 16 Carriage Gunns, besides swivels & 18 Hands. Some of his Prizes are valuable. He brought in here the Masters of two of them, who have entered their Pro-

tests. A Person here who, from motives of Interest, is inimical to America, has made use of those Masters Names to Petition the Commissary of the Marine Department here to stop the Vessel, which he has accordingly done. In this Petition they have represented Capt. Lee to be a Pirate, although he is not treated as such here, but he is obliged to wait here for the determination of the Court of Madrid. I am not knowing to any persons being appointed Agent there since the Colonies have declared themselves Independant States. If there should be one there, I must beg your influence with him in Capt. Lee's favour. The matter will go forwards from hence properly represented by our good Friends, Messrs. Jos. Gardoqui & Sons, as well as by the Commissary who Transmits in his proceedings a Copy of Capt. Lee's commission & instructions.

I am, Sir, Your Most Humble Servt.

JNO. EMERSON.

Extract.

Silas Deane, Esqr.

Stevens's Facsimiles, Nos. 587, 589.

FROM CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

Paris, ce 14 8bre, 1776.

J'ai l'honneur, Monsieur, de vous envoyer le marché du fret des 1600 tonneau, ou plus s'il le faut ; aux conditions dont vous etes convenu avec M. De Monthieu. Je ne vous cache pas que J'ai fait de nouveaux efforts pour etre dégagé de payer pour vous d'avance la moitie de ce fret parceque je commence a etre un peu géné : mais n'ayant pu l'obtenir, il faut bien que je m'y soumette.

Mon cautionement du tout et la moitie d'avance sont les conditions sans lesquelles nous n'aurons pas de vaisseaux.

Dès que ce marcha sera signe, je ferai filer le plus vite que possible non seulement les Ballots de marchandises et armes, ce qui se peut sans bruit, mais encore les Pièces d'artillerie sur lesquelles je ne suis pas sans inquietude a cause de leur forme qui rien peut cacher ou dissimuler en route.

J'aurai pourtant soin de les detourner de le vrai chemin sauf un peu plus de dépense, pour faire gagner, si l'on peut, a une partie, le flotage d'une rivière, ce qui nous sauverait bien des regards inquièts qui commence a nous poursuivre, mais argent, soins, travaux, tout cela est peu de chose si nous parvenons a embarquer et le succés nous payera de tout, si ces cargaisons ont le bonheur d'arriver.

Vous voudrés bien me rapporter ce marché demain en venant diner. Si vous n'y avés pas fait de changement, nous le signerons. Point de nouvelles du continent. Point de Tabac arrivés. Tout cela est triste, —mais il y a bien de la tristesse au découragement. Vous pouvés toujours compter sur la zéle et le pur attachement de votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

M. S Deane.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

TRANSLATION.

Paris, 14th October, 1776.

I have the honor, Sir, to send you the contract for freighting 1600 tons, or more if necessary, on the terms agreed upon between you and Mr. Monthieu. I don't conceal from you that I have again made efforts to be relieved from advancing half the cost of freighting on your behalf, because I am beginning to be a little embarrassed, but not being able to obtain any concession, I must submit.

My security for all and the advance of one-half are made the indispensable conditions for obtaining the ships.

As soon as the contract is signed, I will forward with all possible expedition not only the packages of goods and the arms that can be done without exciting suspicion, but also the cannon, that cause me some apprehension, because nothing can hide or disguise their shape when on the way.

I will endeavor besides to divert them a little from the direct road at a trifle greater expense, and to carry some down by water, an excellent means of averting the suspicions that are now directed toward us.

But the money, trouble, and work will be small in comparison if we can manage to ship them, and success will amply repay us should the cargoes have the good fortune to reach their destination.

You will have the kindness to bring the contract with you to-morrow when you dine with me, and if you have no changes to suggest we will sign it. There is no news from America, and no tobacco either. This is depressing. But depression is a long way from discouragement. You can always count on the devotion and sincere attachment of your very humble and obedient servant,

CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

TO MESSRS. DELAP.

Paris, Oct^{r}. 15th, 1776.

D^{r}. SIR,—The last of y^{r}. Favours is of the 5th instant, consequently have no reply to mine of the 1st & 8th ins^{t}, to the Contents of both which you must, I doubt not, have paid due attention. Several Houses here and in other parts of France purpose immediately engaging in adventures that way; as there are no goods on that Continent at present, there will be a demand for more than will be sent, as I am confident twenty millions of Livres would not supply their demand. At Rouen insurance is offered, I hear, at 15 p. C^{t}. if shipped in French Bottoms. I think the Premium

sufficient; at the same time, considering the prospect of the Trade, am willing to give that and even something more. Monsr. Dabross's Brother gave twenty-five Louis D'Ors, or 600 Livres, for his Brother's use, which he desired might be paid him on his embarking. Should he be already embarked for America, pray you to draw on Mr. Morris to pay Capt. Dabross that sum on his arrival in America, & let the same be placed to my account. Should he not be embarked, his Brother desires, for prudential reasons, that the money may be paid him as late before he actually goes as you can. I hope for your Letter this day, and if so will write you again to-morrow. I have dispatched a Friend to transact my Business in Amsterdam, finding the critical situation of American Affairs here will not for some time admit of my absence. I wish to know of you the price of Freight pr. Ton from Bourdeaux to St. Domingo; how you estimate Tons of goods; what is the price of Passages either for Cabbin or Steerage the same Voyage, also if it be possible to make Mr. Creary's Brig French Property. As to taking additional number of hands, they will be wanted to defend if attacked; and as to being obliged to return the Seamen, the Brig might have immediate Freight back to France. Let me know the price of Rice, Indigo, Wheat & Flour. Rice is 50/ ster. p. cwt. in Amsterdam. I am with respect, Dr. Sir,

Yr. most obedt. & very Humble Servt.,

S. Deane.

If Dabross is not sailed take his rect.; if he is, only mention in your next your having given ye. Draught on Mr. Morris. Are there any English Sailors in your port, I mean Americans yt. can be engaged to go for America. If any arrive from England with Certificates, pray provide them with Lodgings, &c., & inform me of it.

Endorsed: To Messrs. S. & J. H. Delap,

Merchts., Bordeaux.

Thomas Mss.

Agreement with Messrs. Monthieu, Roderique Hortalez & Co.

Articles for hiring armed Vessels and Merchandize, agreed to between Messrs de Monthieu, and Roderique Hortalez & Co. and Mr. Silas Deane.

We the subscribers John Joseph de Monthieu and Roderique Hortalez & Co. are agreed with Mr. Silas Deane, Agent of the United Colonies, upon the subsequent arrangements.

That I, de Monthieu, do engage to furnish on account of the thirteen United Colonies of North America, a certain number of vessels to carry arms and merchandize to the burthen of sixteen hundred tons, or as many vessels as are deemed sufficient to transport to some harbor of North America belonging to the thirteen United Colonies, all the ammunition and appurtenances, agreeable to the estimate signed and left in my possession, and which we estimate would require the above mentioned quantity of vessels to carry sixteen hundred tons burthen, which are to be paid for at the rate of two hundred livres the ton ; and that I will hold said vessels at the disposal of said Messers Hortalez & Co. ready to sail at the ports of Havre, Nantes and Marseilles, viz.—the vessels which are to carry the articles and passengers mentioned in the afore mentioned list, and are to depart from Havre, as well as these that are to go from Nantes, to be ready in the course of November next, and the others in the course of December following, on condition that one half of the afore mentioned freight of 200 livres per ton, both for the voyage to America and back to France, laden equally on account of the Congress of the thirteen United Colonies and Messrs. Hortalez & Co. aforesaid, who are responsible for them, shall be advanced and paid immediately in money, bills of exchange, or other good merchandize or effects, and the other half the said Messrs. Hortalez & Co. do agree to furnish me with in proportion

as the vessels are fitting out, in the same money or other effects as above; over and above this they are to pay me for the passage of each officer, not belonging to the ship's crew, the sum of 550 livres tournois, and for every soldier or servant 250 livres, and for every sailor who goes as passenger 150 livres. It is expressly covenanted and agreed between us, that all risks of the sea either in said vessels being chased, run on shore or taken, shall be on account of the Congress of the United Colonies, and shall be paid agreeably to the estimation which may be made of each of these vessels, agreeably to the bills of sale of each, which I promise to deliver to Messrs. Hortalez & Co. before the departure of any of the said vessels from any of the ports of France mentioned above.

Finally it is agreed that if the Americans detain these vessels longer than two months in their ports, without shipping on board them the returns they are to carry to France, all demurrage, wages or expenses on them from the day of their arrival to that of their departure, these two months excepted, shall be at their charge and paid by them or by Messrs. Hortalez & Co. in our name, as answerable for the Congress of the United Colonies. We accept the above conditions, as far as they respect us, and promise faithfully to fulfil them, and in consequence we have signed this instrument of writing one to the other, at Paris, 15th October, 1776.

MONTHIEU,
RODERIQUE HORTALEZ & CO.
SILAS DEANE, Agent for the United Colonies of North America.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I., 51.

TO COUNT DE VERGENNES.

Paris, Octo. 17th, 1776.

SIR,—I did myself the honor, of writing to Your Excellency some days since, on the Subject of the

detention of a Vessel at Bilboa, & of an Application made by certain British Agents, to the Court of Madrid to have her treated as a Pirate. I now take the Liberty, to sollicit your Excellency, on that affair, if any thing can be done consistent with the Rules of your Department. One of the possible Events, which I mentioned in the Memoire, I had the honor of presenting you, appears probable to take place, that is, the reduction of New York, or rather the Destruction of it by General Howe. The late Action on Long Island issued unhappily, an Account of which I doubt not you have before this Received; on which subject permit me to make one or two observations. General Howe had more than Twenty Thousand Men in his Army; the Detachment under Genl. Sullivan did not amount to Six Thousand, & by a forced march of General Howe were nearly surrounded, which caused so many of them to be made prisoners; as to the number killed & wounded, I have Letters from London which say they were not Three Hundred in the whole. In short it was an Accident, or skirmish, rather than a Battle.

I have given Mons. Beaumarchais a Gazette, in which it is very observable that among all the Prisoners there is (Genl. Sullivan excepted) not one New England or Virginia Man, which shews that the troops thus disgraced were not those on which the General depended. I take the Liberty of enclosing to Your Excellency, an Accurate Chart, or Mapp, of the scene of action, and pray you to favor me by one line from yourself or from Monsieur Gerard, on the subject of my last letter.

I have the honor to be with the most profound Respect Your Excellencys Most Obedt. & Very

Humble Servt.

S. Deane.

P.S. Genl. Sullivan was of New Hampshire in New England.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 590.

From Count Pulaski.

[Oct. 17, 1776.]

Monsieur,—Du moment ou J'ai été obligé de quitter la Pologne J'ai Cherché avec soin les occasiones d'exercer mes talents militaires. Mon Entreprise pendant la guerre des Turcs contre les Russes ayant echué et m'ayant entrainé dans des malheurs et des pertes Irréparables Cella me fait prendre pour le present Certaines mesures qui occasionnent le Retard que Je met a montrer le Zele que J'ai de Contribuer en mon particulier aux succes des affaires de l'Amérique Anglaise.

Il y a environ un année que J'aurais entrepris ce voyage. des personnes de la plus grandes considerations aux qu'elles J'avais fait part de mes Intentions me le conseillerent mais ne connaissant personne asses Instruit des affaires de ce Pays, Je fut contraint malgré ma bonne Volonté de rester dans l'inaction. le hazard vient de me procurer la rencontre de Monsieur le Chevalier de Rabier de la Beaume qui a une parfaite Connaissance de mes affaires et de mon nom m'ayant connu de Reputation en Pologne. C'est lui qui ma Instruit a qui Je devais m'addresser. Voila Monsieur le motif qui m'engage a charger un de mes amis de vous voir a près et c'est d'après les entretiens que vous Vous aurés eû avec lui que je me decidere. Je vous prie d'avoir en cet officier toutte la confiance que Vous auriés en moy, L'ayant chargé de la correspondance que je desire d'avoir avec vous. J'ai l'honneur d'etre avec toutte la Consideration possible,

Monsieur

Votre très humble et très
obeissant Serviteur,
Comt de Pulaski.*

Thomas Mss.

* It is not clear when Pulaski came to Paris. This letter may have been written about Oct. 17, when Deane recommended "Mottin de la Balme" to Congress.

TRANSLATION.

SIR,—Ever since I was compelled to leave Poland I have sought opportunities for the exercise of my military acquirements. My endeavors having failed during the war between the Turks and the Russians, and having, moreover, involved me in disasters and irreparable loss, I was forced to certain measures that have delayed the expression of my ardor to contribute in my person to the success of the English provinces of America.

It is now nearly a year since I contemplated the voyage, and I was encouraged thereto by persons of the greatest distinction, to whom I confided my intentions, but being unacquainted with anyone knowing the state of affairs in your country, I was obliged to remain inactive, in spite of my good intentions.

By chance I have met M^r. le Chevalier Rabier de la Beaume, who perfectly understands my situation, and who knew me by reputation in Poland ; and it is he who advises me as to whom I should address on this subject.

You have now, Sir, the motive that impels me to send one of my friends to speak with you, and after your conversation with him, I will come to a decision.

I beg that you will accord to this officer the same confidence that you would give to me, as I have intrusted to him whatever communications I might desire to make to you.

Sir, your very humble and
very obedient servant,
COUNT DE PULASKI.

TO THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.

Paris, October 17, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,—I once more put pen to paper, not to attempt what is absolutely beyond the power of language to paint, my distressed situation here, totally

destitute of intelligence or instructions from you since I left America, except Mr. Morris's letters of the 4th and 5th of June last, covering duplicates of my first instructions; nor will I complain for myself, but must plainly inform you that the cause of the United Colonies or United States has, for some time, suffered at this Court for want of positive orders to me or some other person; it has not suffered here only, but at several other Courts not only willing, but even desirous of assisting America. Common complaisance, say they, though they want none of our assistance, requires that they should announce to us in form, their being Independant States, that we may know how to treat their subjects and their property in our dominions. Every excuse which my barren invention could suggest has been made, and I have presented memoir after memoir on the situation of American affairs, and their importance to this Kingdom and to some others. My representations, as well verbally as written, have been favourably received, and all the attention paid them I could have wished, but the *sine qua non* is wanting—a power to treat from the United Independant States of America. How, say they, is it possible that all your intelligence and instructions should be intercepted, when we daily have advice of American vessels arriving in different ports in Europe?

It is true I have effected what nothing but the real desire this Court has of giving aid could have brought about, but at the same time it has been a critical and delicate affair, and has required all attention to save appearances, and more than once have I been on the brink of losing all, from suspicions that you were not in earnest in making applications here. I will only add that a vessel with a commission from the honourable Congress, is detained in Bilboa as a pirate, and complaint carried to the Court of Madrid. I have been applied to for assistance, and though I am in hopes nothing will be determined against us, yet I

confess I tremble to think how important a question is by this step agitated, without any one empowered to appear in a proper character, and defend. Could I present your Declaration of Independance and show my commission subsequent, empowering me to appear in your behalf, all might be concluded at once, and a most important point gained; no less than that of obtaining a free reception, and defence or protection of our ships-of-war in these ports, a determination which must eventually ruin the commerce of Great Britain.

I have wrote heretofore for twenty thousand hogsheads of tobacco. I now repeat my desire, and for a large quantity of rice. Tobacco is eight and a half pence sterling per lb., in Holland, and rice fifty shillings sterling per cwt.; the very profits on a large quantity of these articles will go far towards an annual expense.

The stores, of which I have repeatedly wrote you, are now shipping, and will be with you I trust in January, as will the officers coming with them. I refer to your serious consideration, the enclosed hints respecting a naval force in these seas, also the enclosed propositions which were by accident thrown in my way. If you shall judge them of any consequence, you will lay them before Congress; if not, postage will be all the expense extra. I believe they have been seen by other persons, and therefore, I held it my duty to send them to you.

My most profound respects and highest esteem ever attend the honourable Congress, and particularly the honourable Secret Committee.

I am, gentlemen, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

P. S. Doctor Bancroft has been so kind as to pay me a second visit, and that most seasonably, as my former assistant, Mr. Carmichael, is gone to Amsterdam, and thence northward on a particular affair of very great importance. The vessel referred to is

Captain Lee, of Newburyport, who on his passage took five prizes of value, and sent them back, but brought on two of the Captains and some of the men prisoners to Bilboa, where the Captains entered their protest, and complained against Captain Lee as a pirate, on which his vessel is detained, and his commission, &c., sent to Madrid. This instantly brings on a question as to the legality of the commission: if determined legal, a most important point is gained; if the reverse, the consequences will be very bad, and the only ground on which the determination can go against the Captain is that the United States of America or their Congress are not known in Europe as being Independant States, otherways than by common fame in newspapers, &c., on which serious resolution cannot be grounded. The best, therefore, that the Captain expects will be to get the matter delayed, which is very hard on the brave Captain and his honest owners, and will be a bad precedent for others to venture into the European seas.

I have done every thing in my power, and am in hopes, from the strong assurances given me, that all will be settled to my satisfaction in this affair; but cannot but feel on the occasion as well as for the Captain as for the publick. I have been told repeatedly I was too anxious, and advised "*rester sans inquietude*"; but I view this as a capital affair in its consequences, and though I wish to, cannot take the advice.

Warlike preparations are daily making in this Kingdom and in Spain; in the latter, immediately against the Portuguese, but will most probably, in its consequences, involve other Powers.

I need not urge the importance of immediate remittances toward paying for the large quantity of stores I have engaged for, and depend this winter will not be suffered to slip away unimproved.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

Force's American Archives, 5th Series, II., 1090.

To the Secret Committee of Congress.

Paris, October 17, 1776.

Gentlemen,—This comes by Mons. M. Mottin de la Balme, an officer of long service and good reputation; has served as Captain of Cavalry, and is now in rank Lieutenant-Colonel, and now offers his service to the United States of North America.

I have provided him a passage at the publick expense, and assured him his services will be both seasonable and acceptable to the continent in some of its departments. I have lately wrote you several letters, but am still without intelligence or instructions from you since the 5th of June last. The consequences are very disagreeable, as thereby I am much [at] a loss how to proceed, and the interest of the United States suffers exceedingly.

Captain Lee, of Newburyport, in a letter-of-marque schooner, made in his passage five valuable prizes, which he sent back, but brought on two or three of the Captains and some of their men, as prisoners, who immediately on being landed protested against him as a pirate, and by the help of some English factors there, procured a detention of his vessel until the opinion of the Court of Madrid should be known.

Thus a most important question is precipitated on, without any one to appear, properly authorized to defend, for though your Declaration of Independance has been published in newspapers through Europe, and is nowhere doubted, yet Courts require some better authority in such important affairs.

I have been applied to by the Captain, and have used what influence I can make in the case, but at best I expect a detention of the vessel or perhaps heavy bonds to answer hereafter, if the cause is decided against them. This is very hard on a brave Captain and his honest owners, and must discourage cruising in the European seas, unless remedied, which the bare announcing of your Independancy would do effectually.

As I shall write you very particularly in a few days, I will not add, but am, with most respectful compliments to the honourable Congress and their Secret Committee, gentlemen, your most obedient and very humble servant,

SILAS DEANE.

Force's American Archives, 5th Series, II., 1091.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Paris, October 17, 1776.

SIR,—The bearer, Mons. M. Mottin de la Balme, has long served with reputation in the armies of France as a Captain of Cavalry, and is now advanced to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He has made military discipline his study, and has wrote on the subject to good acceptance. He now generously offers his services to the United States of North America, and asks of me what I most cheerfully grant, a letter to you and his passage. Confident he may be of very great service, if not in the general army, yet in those Colonies which are raising and disciplining Cavalry, I have only to add that he is in good esteem here, and is well recommended, to which I am persuaded he will do justice.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

Hon. John Hancock.

Force's American Archives, 5th Series, II., 1092.

TO WILLIAM BINGHAM.

Paris, October 17, 1776.

DEAR SIR,—Since receiving yours of the 4th and 5th August last, I have wrote you repeatedly, and have no doubt of your receipt of them, to which refer you. You are in the neighbourhood of St. Vincent, and I learn that the Caribbs are not content with their mas-

ters ; and, being an artful as well as revengeful people, would undoubtedly take this opportunity of throwing off a yoke which nothing but a superior force can keep on them. My request is, that you would inquire into the state of that island by proper emissaries ; and if the Caribbs are disposed to revolt, encourage them, and promise them aid of arms and ammunition. This must tear from Great Britain an island which they value next to Jamaica, and to which, indeed, they have no title but what rests on violence and cruelty ; at any rate they will oblige Great Britain to withdraw part of her forces from the continent. If any thing can be effected then, inform me instantly, and I will order to your care such a quantity of stores as you shall think necessary.

The enclosed letter I desire you to break the seal of, and make as many copies as there are vessels going northward, by which some one must arrive.

A war I think may be depended upon ; but keep your intelligence of every kind secret, save to those of the honourable Secret Committee. You will send, also, a copy of this, by which the honourable Committee will see the request I have made to you and the reason of their receiving several duplicates in your hand-writing.

I wish you to forward the enclosed to Mr. Tucker, of Bermuda, and write me by every vessel to Bordeaux or Nantz.

I am, with great esteem, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

Force's American Archives, 5th Series, II., 1092.

FROM LORD SHELBURNE.

L^d^. Shelburne's presents his Compliments to M^r^. Deane. He is much oblig'd to him for his communication. His account of the affair of Long Island carrys marks of truth, which the *Gazette* account does

not. If Lord Shelburne has a wish equal with that of Reconciliation, It is that this Unhappy War may terminate with circumstances which in future may inspire mutual Respect & Reverence, the only solid Foundation of lasting Confederation. What Parliament will do, He can form no conjecture, as it depends, he is sorry to say, for the present, upon one or two Men. His own devoutest Wishes will ever be for Union, Peace, & Freedom, & His Hopes will never cease that Old Good Humour & Confidence will take place upon more solid grounds even than before.

Hotel de Malble, 20 Oct^r., 1776.

Thomas Mss.

From Robert Morris.

Philad^a., October 23, 1776.

Silas Deane, Esq^r.

Dear Sir,—Herewith you have copies of what I wrote you the 12^th^ Sept^r. & 4^th^ October, both of which I confirm, & not having had the pleasure to hear from you since, I do not intend to take up much of your time; of Politicks I shall not write, as you will gain ample information in another way.

The Secret Committee, finding it impossible to make remittances fast enough to support the Credit of all their Contracts in the way they coud wish, have determined to employ my Brother as a Superintending Agent over all their European Concerns, and have given him ample instructions for the purpose, & as they now make all their Consignments to his order, he is instructed, amongst other things, to make up to you what you have otherways received short of the forty thousand pounds sterling for the purchase of Indian Goods; but if you have bought these Goods on Credit, as we expect you have, you must stretch that Credit untill he gets pretty strong handed, which I hope will be 'ere long if we have tolerable luck, for I have bought a great deal of valuable produce for the purpose.

Tom must fix with the best Houses at every Port in France or in most Foreign parts of Europe to transact the business for him, & I expect they will agree to charge only the customary Com^{s}. on sales & returns and allow him a share of it; but be this as it may, he must fix the best People for his Agents, he must employ such Banker in Paris as you best approve of, he must direct all the Cargoes to the best markets and order our Goods from the cheapest & best places, and, in short, I expect he will exert himself to the utmost to render as faithful & Effectual Services. I hope, my D^{r}. Sir, you will be attentive to his Conduct, and if need there be, spur him up to a diligent, honest, & faithful discharge of his Duty. I have also recommended a good deal of Private business to him, in full dependance that he will apply his whole time & attention to business, for in that line I have determined to push his future Fortunes. If you & he have engaged in the plans I recommend, they must undoubtedly turn out well, especially if you make Insurances, & T. Morris will have effects in hand to pay our share of such concerns, as we have directed him to settle all our accounts in England, where much more money is due to us than from us, and I hope he will pay all the ballances we owe & recover those due to us.

I have advice from M^{r}. Langdon, of Portsmouth, that Cap^{t}. Palmer is arrived there; but he threw over the Packet of letters he had from you, & indeed all his letters, expecting to be taken by a Man of War, from which he had a hair's breadth escape. I intend writing more at large that I can spare time to do at present. Be assured that I am with perfect esteem & regard,

D^{r}. Sir,
Your affectionate hble Servant,
Rob^{t}. Morris.

Thomas Mss

FROM THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, October 23, 1776.

SIR,—We lately wrote you very fully by Mr. William Hodge, Jun., who went passenger in the sloop Independance, to Martinico, from whence he will proceed to France, and deliver you sundry despatches from this Committee; amongst the rest was the plan of a treaty with the Court of France, and instructions of Congress relative thereto, and this day we have enclosed you instructions relative to treaties with other nations, and sent them under cover to William Bingham, Esq., at Martinico. Enclosed herein are triplicates of the whole, which we send by the brig Lexington, William Hallock, Esq., commander, under cover to Mr. Stephen Ceronio, at Cape Francois, to be forwarded from thence to Messrs. Delap, at Bordeaux, and we hope in due time you will receive the whole safely.

For and on behalf of the Committee of Correspondence, I am, dear sir, yours, &c.

ROBERT MORRIS.

To Silas Deane.

Force's American Archives, 5th Series, II., 1198.

FROM THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, October 23, 1776.

SIR,—We lately wrote you a letter by Mr. William Hodge, enclosing sundry important papers, duplicates whereof are sent by another conveyance; but one paper was wanting to complete that sent by Mr. Hodge, which was not then ready. You will find it herein, being instructions of Congress respecting the treating with foreign nations.

We send it by the sloop Sachem, Captain James Robinson, under cover to William Bingham, Esq. at Martinico, who will forward the same.

I am, for and by order of the Committee of Secret

Correspondence, dear sir, your obedient, humble servant, ROB'T MORRIS.

To Silas Deane, Esq.

Force's American Archives, 5th Series, II., 1171.

FROM THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, October 23, 1776.

SIR,—We have already wrote you two letters of this date by different conveyances. The present we send by the Andrew Doria, Isaiah Robison, Esq., commander, for St. Eustatia, from whence it will be sent to William Bingham, Esq., at Martinico, and by him be transmitted to you in a French bottom.

You will find enclosed two resolves of Congress passed yesterday. From one of them you will learn that Thomas Jefferson, Esq., declined going to France, and that Arthur Lee, Esq., of London, is elected to serve as a Commissioner in his stead. You will therefore contrive to give him immediate notice to repair to you, and then deliver him that resolve and the enclosed letter. By the other resolve you will see that Congress direct you to procure eight line-of-battle ships, either by hire or purchase. We hope you may meet immediate success in this application, and that you may be able to influence the Courts of France and Spain to send a large fleet at their own expense to act in concert with these ships, which should be expedited immediately with directions to the commander to make the first port he can with safety in these States, preferring this, if winds and weather favour him; and he must also have instructions to subject himself totally after his arrival to the orders of Congress. We are, sir, yours, &c,

ROBERT MORRIS.

To Silas Deane, Esq.

A copy with the papers by the Lexington. R. M.

Force's American Archives, 5th Series, II., 1198.

FROM THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, October 24, 1776.

DEAR SIR,—We embrace this opportunity of your worthy colleague and our mutual good friend, Doctor Franklin, to transmit you copies of our letters of the 1st October, by the sloop Independence, Captain Young, to Martinico, from whence they would be carried to you by Mr. William Hodge, Jun., sent in said sloop for that purpose. Those letters contained a commission from the Congress appointing Dr. Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Esq., and yourself, Commissioners on behalf of the United States of America to negotiate a treaty of alliance and amity and peace with the Court of France; a plan of that treaty; instructions from Congress relative thereto; form of passports for the ships of each nation, &c. We consider these papers as of the utmost consequence, and hope they will arrive safe.

Yesterday we wrote you a few lines enclosing additional instructions from Congress to their Commissioners, authorizing them to treat with other nations; also two resolves of Congress, by one of which you would see that Thomas Jefferson, Esq., declined his appointment, and that Arthur Lee, Esq., was appointed in his stead, to whom we enclosed a letter, copy whereof goes herewith. By the other the Commissioners are directed to hire or buy eight line-of-battle ships for the American service. These papers were sent under cover to William Bingham, Esq., our resident at Martinico, with orders to forward them immediately.

We wrote you another letter yesterday, covering duplicates of all the papers and letters mentioned herein, and sent it by the armed brigantine Lexington, William Hallock, Esq., commander, to Mr. Stephen Ceronio, our resident at Cape Francois, with directions to forward them to Messrs. Samuel & J. Hans Delap, merchants at Bordeaux, who are requested to send the packet from thence by express to you; and Dr. Franklin carries with him triplicates of all these publick

papers. We have been thus particular in mentioning them, and the conveyances by which they were sent, that you may know when the whole are received; and we desire you to be equally pointed in advising us thereof, for we shall be anxious to hear of their getting safe, and shall be very uneasy if we don't hear this in due time, for they ought not on any account to fall into the hands of our enemies.

Since Mr. Dickinson & Mr. Harrison were out of Congress, and Dr. Franklin appointed one of the Commissioners at the Court of France, the Congress have filled up the vacancies in this Committee, and the members now are Mr. Jay, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Morris, Colonel Richard Henry Lee, Mr. William Hooper, and Dr. John Witherspoon, which we mention for your information.

We shall continue to address all our advices and despatches to you only, until informed that the other Commissioners have joined you; but you will communicate the letters to them as if directed to the whole, and we depend on you to notify Dr. Lee of his appointment, using the utmost precaution in the method of doing it, or his person may be endangered. We suppose it may be best to have the letter enclosed by the Ministers of France to their Ambassador in England, with proper cautions respecting the delivery of it. Dr. Franklin being the bearer of this letter, it is totally unnecessary for us to enter into any detail of what is passing here, or to convey any political remarks. He being possessed of every knowledge necessary for your information, will communicate very fully everything you can wish to know.

Therefore, wishing you a happy meeting with him, and a successful issue to your labours in the service of your country, we remain, with perfect esteem and regard, dear sir, your affectionate friends and obedient, humble servants,

To Silas Deane, Esq.

Force's American Archives, 5th Series, II., 1214.

To William Bingham.

October 25, 1776.

Dear Sir,—I have received no letter from you since the 4th & 5th August last, nor any intelligence from the Congress since the 5th June, which not only surprises but distresses me. I now send to care of Monsieur Deant two hundred tons of a necessary article to be at your orders for use of the Congress. The freight is to be paid in Martinico as customary, and I wish you to ship it for the ports of the Colonies in such a manner and such quantities in a vessel as you shall judge most prudent, advising the Congress of your having received it, and the methods you are taking to ship it to them, praying them to remit you the amount of the freight, as you must make friends in Martinico for advancing the same.

I wish you could write me often and inform me very particularly what letters you receive from me directed immediately to you, and what ones for other persons. By this I shall know which of my letters fail.

I am, with great respect, &c.,

Silas Deane.

P. S. Forward the enclosed under cover, and with the usual directions in case of capture.

Force's American Archives, 5th Series, II., 1235.

To the Secret Committee of Congress.

Paris, October 25, 1776.

Gentlemen,—I have purchased two hundred tons of powder, and ordered the same to be shipped to Martinico, to the care of Monsieur Deant, to direction of Mr. Bingham, for your use. The first cost is eighteen sols per lb. or 10 d. sterling; the charges will be added—the amount I have not as yet ascertained, and interest at

five per cent. until payment. I must again urge you to hasten your remittances. Tobacco, rice, indigo, wheat, and flour, are in great demand, and must be so through the year. Tobacco is nine stivers per lb. in Holland, rice 50 s. sterling per cwt. Flour is already from 20 to 23 livres per cwt. and rising. I have engaged a sale of 20,000 hogshead of tobacco, the amount of which will establish the credit of the Congress with the mercantile interest in France and Holland.

Let me urge your attention to these articles, though I must say your silence ever since the 5th of last June discourages me at times. Indeed, it well nigh distracts me. From whatever cause the silence has happened, it has greatly prejudiced the affairs of the United Colonies of America; and so far as the success of our cause depended on the friendship and aid of powers on this side the globe, it has occasioned the greatest hazard and danger, and thrown me into a state of anxiety and perplexity, which no words can express. I have made one excuse after another, until my invention is exhausted, and when I find vessels arriving from different ports in America, which sailed late in August, without a line for me, it gives our friends here apprehensions that the assertions of our enemies, who say you are negotiating and compounding, are true; otherwise, say they, where are your letters and directions? Surely, they add, if the Colonies were in earnest, and unanimous in their Independance, even if they wanted no assistance from hence, common civility would cause them to announce in form their being Independant States.

I will make no other comment on the distressing subject than this; were there no hopes of obtaining assistance on application in a public manner, I should be easier under your silence, but when the reverse is the case, to lose the present critically favorable moment, and hazard thereby the ruin of the greatest cause in which mankind were ever engaged, distresses my soul, and I would, if possible, express something of what I have undergone for the last three months, until hope

itself has almost deserted me. I do not complain for myself, but for my country, thus unaccountably suffering from I know not what causes.

I am, gentlemen, with most respectful compliments to the Congress &c.

SILAS DEANE.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I., 59.

TO THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.

Paris, November 2, 1776.

It is presumed that the thirteen frigates are now at sea, and it deserves the earliest attention so to use them as may most essentially wound the commerce of Great Britain.

The British ships will, except a few stationed at New-York and Halifax, winter in the West-Indies, consequently a blow there cannot be so successfully struck; besides, from the last winter's adventure, they will be on their guard.

The inquiry is, where can they be taken most unguarded? Two schemes have rose in my mind: The enemy have no men-of-war wintering at Newfoundland, and the station ships go out there in May. Two or three of the frigates might sail as on a common cruise, and stand for the banks after being at sea; destroy, in a few days, all the fishing stages, boats, &c., &c., and bring away the workmen who winter there, which must ruin their fishery for one year at least, after which let them sail for the Baltic, and cruise for the ships bound to Russia. The other is, as large remittances are wanted in Europe, let the tobacco, rice, wheat, &c., be loaded, part in these frigates, and part in vessels under their convoy; let them have one destination, for example, Bordeaux. After unloading their cargoes and refreshing their crews (during which the most exact intelligence may be had of the situation of the British coast), they may strike a blow which will alarm and weaken Great

Britain most effectually. The city of Glasgow might at any hour be destroyed by a single frigate capable of landing two hundred men; and Great Britain being obliged to send all her fleet, except her heavy guard ships, into America and the West-Indies, this town, as well as many others, will the ensuing spring remain in much the same situation, and there being no militia in Scotland, the scheme might be fully executed, and the ships retire before any force could be collected. I would propose, after effecting this, to go northward instead of returning, and intercept the Baltic ships, or make a harbour in Bordeaux and Havre-de-Grace, and wait a second opportunity. Certain it is, a few of our cruisers, permitted to enter the harbours of this Kingdom, and of Spain—which, if proper application is made, they most certainly will be—may distress the trade of Great Britain and enrich ourselves. You may have any number of recruits in Europe for such ships, and, by sending out commissions, have individuals join you in the adventure under your flag, with stout frigates, several of which are now building absolutely with the design, viz., the hopes of getting into the service of the United States of North America.

I am, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

Force's American Archives, 5th Series, III., 480.

TO THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.

Paris, 6th November, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,—The only letters I have received from you were dated 5th and 6th of June last, five months since, during which time vessels have arrived from almost every part of America to every part of France and Spain; and I am informed of letters from Mr. Morris to his correspondents, dated late in July. If the Congress do not mean to apply for foreign alliances, let me entreat you to say so, and rescind your resolu-

tions published on that head, which will be but justice to the Powers of Europe, to whom you gave reason to expect such an application. If I am not the proper person to announce your independancy, and solicit in your behalf, let me entreat you to tell me so, and relieve me from an anxiety which is become so intolerable that my life is a burthen.

Two hundred pieces of brass cannon, and arms, tents and accoutrements for thirty thousand men, with ammunition in proportion, and between twenty and thirty brass mortars, have been granted to my request; but the unaccountable silence on your part has delayed the embarkation some weeks already. I yesterday got them again in motion, and a part are already at Havre de Grace and Nantes, and the rest on their way there; but am hourly trembling for fear of counter-orders. Had I received proper powers in season, this supply would before this have been in America, and that under the convoy of a strong fleet. The disappointment is distracting, and I will dismiss the subject after taking the liberty to which a freeman and an American is entitled, of declaring that by this neglect the cause of the United States of North America has suffered in this and the neighbouring Courts, and the blood that will be spilt through the want of these supplies, and the devastations, if any, must be laid at this door.

Captain Cochran being arrived at Nantes, I sent to him to come to me. He is now with me, and by him I send this, with a packet of letters. He can inform you of the price of American produce in Europe, the very advance on which will pay you for fitting out a Navy.

Rice is from thirty to fifty livres per cwt.; tobacco, eight pence and nine pence per pound. Flour and wheat are growing scarce, and rising. Masts, spars, and other naval stores, are in demand, and the more so as a war with Great Britain is considered as at the door.

Monsieur Du Coudray, who has the character of being

one of the best officers of Artillery in Europe, has been indefatigable in our service, and I hope the terms I have made with him will not be thought exorbitant, as he was the principal means of engaging the stores.

The rage, as I may say, for entering the American service, increases, and the consequence is I am crowded with offers and proposals, many of them from persons of the first rank and eminence in the sea as well as land service. Count Broglio, who commanded the army of France the last war, did me the honour to call on me twice yesterday, with an officer who served as his quartermaster-general the last war and has now a regiment in this service, but being a German [Baron de Kalb] and having travelled through America a few years since, he is desirous of engaging in the service of the United States of North America. I can by no means let slip an opportunity of engaging a person of so much experience, and who is by every one recommended as one of the bravest and most skillful officers in the kingdom ; yet I am distressed on every such occasion, for want of your particular instructions. This gentleman has an independant fortune, and a certain prospect of advancement here, but being a zealous friend of liberty, civil and religious, he is actuated by the most independant and generous principles in the offer he makes of his services to the United States of America.

Enclosed you also have the plan of a French naval officer for burning ships, which he gave me, and at the same time showed me his drafts of ships, and rules for constructing and regulating a Navy, of which I have the highest opinion. He has seen much service, is a person of study and letters, as well as fortune, and is ambitious of planning a Navy for America, which shall at once be much cheaper and more effectual than anything of the kind which can be produced on the European system. He has command of a ship-of-the-line in this service, but is rather disgusted at not having his proposed regulations for the Navy of France attended to. His proposal generally is to build ves-

sels something on the model of those designed by the Marine Committee, to carry from twenty-four to thirty-six guns on one deck, which will be as formidable a battery as any ship-of-the-line can avail itself of, and by fighting them on the upper deck a much surer one. Had I power to treat with this gentleman, I believe his character and friends are such that he could have two or three such frigates immediately constructed here on credit, and manned and sent to America; but the want of instructions or intelligence or remittances, with the late check on Long-Island, has sunk our credit to nothing with individuals, and the goods for the Indian contract cannot be shipped unless remittances are made to a much greater amount than at present. Not ten thousand pounds have been received of forty thousand delivered in America as early as last February, and I am ignorant what has become of the effects shipped. Under these circumstances I have no courage to urge a credit which I have no prospect of living up to the engagements for supporting it; but I will take Mr. Morris's hint, and write a letter solely on business, but politicks and my business are almost inseparably connected.

I have filled this sheet, and will therefore bid you adieu until I begin another.

I am, with the warmest esteem, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I., 60.

AGREEMENT WITH BARON DE KALB.

Le Baron de Kalb, being advised by some Generals of the highest reputation and by several other Noblemen of the first rank in this realm, to serve the cause of Liberty in America, he accordingly offers his Services to the most honorable Congress on the following terms:

1st. To be made a Major General of the American

Troops at the appointments of the Major Generals in that service, with all other perquisites belonging to that Rank, besides a particular sum to be allowed to him annually, which he will not determine, but rely on it for the Congress, hoping they will consider the difference there is between their own Countrymen, who are in duty bound to defend their all, and a foreigner who, out of his own accord, offers his time, sets aside his family affairs to hazard his life for the American Liberties. The said appointments to begin from this day, November the Seventh, 1776.

2d. That Mr. Deane will furnish him presently, and before embarking, with a sum of twelve thousand livres, French-money, namely 6000ls., to be considered and given as a gratification for the necessary expences attending such an Errant, and th'other 6000ls. as an advance upon his appointments.

3d. That Capt. Duboismartin and another gentleman, whom Le Baron de Kalb shall nominate in time, may be agreed as Majors, to be his aid de Camps at the appointments of American officers of the Same Rank, and the Sum of 3000ls., or at least 2400ls. be paid to each of them presently, or before embarking, the half of which as a gratification, and th'other half as an advance; the said appointments beginning, too, from this day.

4th. That in case the Peace was made at their Landing in America, or that Congress would not grant these demands, and ratify the present agreement, or that the Baron de Kalb himself should on any other account, and at any time incline to return to Europe, that he be allowed to do so, and besides be furnished with a sufficient sum of money for the Expences of his coming back.

On the above Conditions, I engage and promise to serve the American States to the utmost of my abilities, to acknowledge the Authority and every act of the most honorable Congress, be faithfull to the Country as if my own, obey to Superiors committed by that

Lawful Power, and be from this very day at the disposal of Mr. Deane for my embarcation, and in such a Vessel and harbour as he shall think fit.

Witness my hand, in Paris, November y^e^ seventh, in year one thousand seven hundred seventy six.

DE KALB.

Rec^d^. of Silas Deane, at Paris, Nov^r^. 22^d^., 1776, Sixteen thousand Eight Hundred Liv^s^. on Acc^t^. of the Above.

DE KALB.

N. B. Paid 8800 in Cash, and 8000 by a Bill on Mess^rs^. Delaps.

Deane Papers, Treasury Department.

FROM EDWARD BANCROFT.

DEAR SIR,—Last Tuesday I enclosed you a Newspaper, a Map of the late action at Long Island, and copy of Gen^l^ & Lord Howe's Declaration which has been since printed in the News Papers. To understand that Declaration you must be informed that though Gen^l^ Sullivan's interposition after the affair of Long Island, a meeting was brought about between Lord Howe & a Committee of the Congress, consisting of D^r^ Franklin, M^r^ Adams, & M^r^ Rutledge. They required to be received as a Committee from the representatives of the United States of America; but Lord Howe alledged it to be impossible for him to receive them in that Character, and begged them not to frustrate the most salutary purposes by an unreasonable attention to idle forms. It was, however, at length agreed to begin a Conference, without determining any thing respecting the Pretensions of the Committee, & that nothing disadvantageous to the Claims of the Colonies should be drawn from the

Precedent. Lord Howe then proposed that, in order to effect a Permanent Reconciliation, one great Act of State should be projected & Settled as a Matter of Compact between the two Countries, & that this act should supercede & set aside all former Acts of Parliament, & forever ascertain the Rights, Priviledges, & Constitutions of the Colonists & the Terms of their future Connection with Great Britain. The Committee, however, insisted that the independancy of the Colonies should be first recognized, and that they would afterwards enter upon the Conversation of the Terms of an Alliance with G. B., and they centered upon a long, ingenious & plausible Conversation (as Lord Howe expresses it), calculated to shew that the independancy of America would be now most conducive to the interests of Great Britain, that the minds of the Colonists were so sett upon it, that if they never would be easy under the Dominion of the King, that his Sovereignty could not be long maintained if it should be again admitted, & that even during that little time Government would be so uneasy, so unsettled, & so much opposed as to be altogether unprofitable. Lord Howe having no powers to acknowledge the independancy of the Colonies (whatever he might think of these arguments), & the Committee persisting to declare that they could not recede from the Claim of independancy, the Conference ended. But Lord Howe writes that notwithstanding this fruitless conclusion he is convinced that a considerable Party in the Congress is disposed to a Reconciliation, and this Disposition he thinks will increase by the distresses resulting from the operations of War & other Causes, & that he confidently expects to be able before the new year to transmit terms of reconciliation from the Congress; & Mr Streachy (the Secretary to the Commission) has expressed the same Expectation in a Letter to Mr Kelsal, his Father in Law. This Conference happened on the ninth of Sept^r, on board a ship off Staten Island, soon after which, it seems that Mr

Adams went to Boston, where he certainly was the latter end of Sept^r, & 'tis said that M^r Hancock was with him, but this I doubt. There is at present no Expectation whatever in Government of being able to procure any Russian Troops, though attempts will be made to secure an additional number of German ones, and particularly of Hessian Chasseurs, Gen^l Howe having highly commended the Corps under Col. Donop. Cap^t Balfour, who brought the last Dispatches from Gen^l Howe, was principally sent over to explain to Administration a new Plan of Operations concerted by the Gen^l & Admiral, of which I have procured an Account from a certain infallible source; a source from which a great part of the contents of this Letter is derived, & from which much useful intelligence may be hereafter obtained if we do not imprudently use what is given to us so as to lead to improper discoveries. You will recollect what I have before mentioned about a certain Minister's private Secretary. He says the Project is upon the arrival of six thousand Hessians & near 3000 Recruits, then hourly expected at New York, to Detach a considerable part of the army to take Possession of Rhodeisland, make it a Station for a considerable part of the Fleet next Winter, and a kind of Marine Arsenal (Halifax being too remote), and to send thither such a body of Land Forces as will be sufficient to divide Gen^l Washington's Army & perpetually to allarm & harass the Towns in the Colony of Rhodeisland & Massachusetts Bay; another part of the Fleet is to winter at Oyster Bay (on the East end of Longisland), which is to be fortified; & a third is to be sent to Antigua, & from thence to be employed in cruising against the American Vessels sailing to & from the French Islands. Another part of the Fleet under Lord Howe (consisting altogether of 89 Frigates and Sloops, with two line of Battle Ships), being in want of considerable repairs, is to return to England. A knowledge of this allotment of the Navy may be of infinite service in regard to your Projects. You will easily perceive

that all approaches to New London, between New Port & Oyster Bay, must be Dangerous,—any where to the Northward will apparently be safe, as little or no force will be left at Halifax ; & I do not find that there will be any on the Coast of America, Southward of New Jersey. Two American Privateers having for some time Blocked up an English Sloop of War at Bermudas, Lord Howe in Sept.r Dispatched the Galatea Frigate thither to release her, & it is said that one or two others would be sent to cruize in that Latitude, as the American Privateers made it their Station, & as the Congress have in an especial manner exempted the Inhabitants of that Island & their Effects from Capture, &c. There is in Lord G. Germains office a short Letter, written two days after the last of those Printed in the Gazette, in which he mentions having the day before, sent a Brigade of his Army to one of the Islands in Hellgate, opposite Morrissiana, where Gen.l Washington's principal Force is stationed ; a movement which looks as if he intended to endeavour to get round the American Army on that side. But whatever he undertakes it will be with the utmost caution. He writes that he thinks the American Troops are Panic struck, & that he shall give them no opportunity of Gaining any advantage that might raise their spirits. He says also that the Americans suffer much for want of light Brass Field Artillery, & the New Constructed very light field pieces with which he has been so plentifully supplied, from hence, give him great advantages over them ; he says also that the American Army has suffered greatly by the Small Pox, the Camp Fever, & the Putrid Dysenterry, that 4000 have been sick at one time ; these disorders he ascribes chiefly to their want of Cleanliness, & says that he burnt Putnam's Camp on Long island to prevent his Troops from receiving the Contagion. Gen.l Sullivan has been exchanged for Gen.l Prescot, Lord Stirling for Gov.r Brown, & Maj.r Skene for M.r Lovel. We have here a M.r Langlois, who was Secretary to Lord Stormont whilst Ambassador at Vienna ; he has a Brother in

Paris who has written over to him that Mr. du Coudra, with the Engineers, 200 pieces of Cannon, a large Quantity of Ammunition and Small Arms, are shortly to sail for America; that the Irish Brigades are also ordered to hold themselves in readiness for Embarkation, & that the Duke de Fitz James, who is Colonel of one of these Regiments, supposes they are going to St. Domingo, & not likeing the expedition was gone to Fonttainbleau to procure an advance of Rank to exempt himself from it. Mr. Langlois, however, adds a suspicion that these Brigades are intended for the service of the United Colonies, & this News having been communicated to Lord Mansfield has, by him, been conveyed to the Cabinet as authentic, and has given much uneasiness; no attempt whatever will however be made to intercept any French Supplies in Europe, but they will probably be watched for in America. You must be cautious, however, in mentioning this & other communications from me, as they would naturally lead to a discovery of my Channel of information.

Govt. yesterday recd dispatches from Quebec of the 5th of Octr mentioning that Genl Burgoyne with about 9000 Troops was embarked on Lake Champlain, & that Sir John Johnson with a considerable number of Savages & Canadians with McLeans Regt of Highland Emigrants was gone towards Albany by way of the Mohawk River.

The sudden Press here was intended partly to intimidate France & partly to obviate the clamours of opposition respecting the defenceless situation of the Kingdom, but few Seamen are however collected by it, & of those the greatest part will be sent to Lord Howe who complains much of the Dificiencies of his Fleet; no such number of ships as is given out can be in any readiness for service. I have before me some New York & Boston Papers, which contain accounts of the Long island and other actions (very different from those in the Gazette) as well as of the affair of the Cedars; of Col. Paterson's Interview with Genl Washington &c., all

Published by order of Congress. I am bound by special Promise to return the Papers & the acc^{ts} being too long to be transmitted (especially in my present state of indisposition) I must get them printed here & afterwards convey them to you. Some days since I caught a violent cold, & have had a slight fever ever since which has confined me to my house and Prevented me from attending so fully as I should otherwise have done to yours & M^{r} Bromfield's Commissions as well as to my own Business, particularly that relating to Ald^{m} Lee who I find has been most malevolently setting on foot enquiries since his return to find out things to my Disadvantage in order to hurt my Character, & justify an accusation for which he ought to have had some previous authority, & what render the proceeding the more wicked his Emissaries the better to encourage scandalous communications to them, have accompanied their Enquiries with slanderous insinuations. I fear I must carry this matter to the last Extremities notwithstanding my strong desire to follow your advice. I have settled matters respecting our project, and things are already to begin but the price of a certain commodity does not rise sufficiently as was hoped since its last fall; we shall do something however soon, & I beg you will not lose a moment in giving me notice of the receipt of certain Documents when they come to hand. I have a multitude of other things to write but my head aches so violently that I must stop without even looking over what I have written, & must intreat y^{r} Patience until next Post for the acc^{t} of Druggs; nothing but my illness should have prevented its being ready.

I am Dear Sir Your most respectful
Affectionate & Devoted Humble Serv^{t}.

E. B.

London, Nov^{r} 8th 1776.

Endorsed, Ed^{d} Bancroft, Esq^{r}, Nov^{r} 8th 1776.

Thomas Mss.

To the Secret Committee of Congress.

Paris, 9th November, 1776.

Gentlemen,—I have written to you often and particularly of affairs here. The want of intelligence retards every thing. As I have not a word from you since the 5th of June last, I am well-nigh distracted. That I may not omit any chance of sending to you, I write this, though I have long and minute letters by me waiting the departure of Monsieur General Du Coudray and his train, who, had I been properly and in season instructed, would before this have been with you; at present I have put much to the hazard to effect what I have. Enclosed you have my thoughts on naval operations; and I pray you send me some blank commissions, which will enable me to fit out privateers from hence without any charge to you. A war appears at hand, and will probably be general. All Europe have their eyes on the States of America, and are astonished to find month after month rolling away without your applying to them in form. I hope such application is on its way; nothing else is wanting to effect your utmost wishes. I am, with compliments to friends, and respect to the honourable Congress, &c.,

Silas Deane.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I., 64.

From William Carmichael.

Dear Sir,—That I write to you proceeds more from a desire of hearing from you in return, than an expectation of giving you either information or pleasure by my letters. I left Amsterdam on the 3^{d} and arrived here a few hours ago, not having been in bed or having my boots off since. Contrary to every ones advice at Amsterdam, I took a seat in the Post Waggon, which is just like the common cars in France, totally uncovered, & you can with ease, walk faster than they travel in the

heavy sands of Westphalia. Happily the weather was severe. I found myself every morning coverd with white Frost it is true, but met with nothing more disagreeable than what is common to those who travel thro so dreary a country, with such horrid carriages & filthy auberges, till last night, when by the drowsiness of our Postilion we were overset. By this accident I got a black eye & bruised shoulder, my servant was a little bruised & a poor Jew my fellow traveller had his arm broke close to the shoulder. I quitted then the waggon & took extra horses, with which you go a little faster but have the same kind of car if not worse. I leave the particulars of this Journey, however, till I have the pleasure of seeing you ; and shall just mention what you perhaps ought to know. At Amsterdam, the house of Horneca Frigeuix & C°. told me that if the C——ss would draw bills accepted by the principal mercantile houses in America payable in one, two, three & 5 years, they would discount them at 5 p^r. C^t. This, you may suppose, cannot be for a large sum at first, perhaps 100,000 florins the first year, but still it is an opening, & you if you think proper, can give your sentiments in your next letter to America on this subject. This was the method taken for raising money for the City of Leipsig last war. The Gentleman, M^r. Le Grand, whose brother you know at Paris, Is the Person who directs the business of this house, one of the most considerable in Holland. He is remarkable for his adventurous & enterprizing temper. It is with such characters we must deal, for the Plodding Dutch Merchant who sees no farther than the bottom of his purse, will never be induced to quit certain & sure profit, for uncertain & hazardous tho' great gains. Your correspondents at Amsterdam have already ingaged largely in the exportation to S^t. Eustatia. & indeed one Mess^rs. Clifford & Tysett are concerned with a M^r. Ross, a Merchant of Philadelphia, now at Hambourgh, who does business with Mess^rs. Willing & Morris from whom I saw a copy of a Letter to him to the same purport as that to you.

The plan, as I before observed, in Amsterdam, is to carry on business by S^{t} Eustatia to America. Had it not been that the news of our ill success on L. I. dispirited everybody there, I should possibly have engaged some to speculate on y^{r} plan ; at any rate, with some money in hand it might have been done, & in the months of February & March still may, should our affairs at that time wear a favorable aspect. My fellow traveller the Jew, informed me, that he was commissioned topurchase & had already purchased a quantity of Tobacco in Hungary to send by the Oder to Stettin & thence next spring to Amsterdam. The prime cost is 3 or 4 florins p^{r} C^{t} £, besides commission & freight & one fourth p^{d} to the King of Prussia for permission to pass thro' his dominions. At Osnaburgh I inquired the price of Linnens of their Manufacture & found the price rather higher than usual. You would suppose great Manufactures of Osnabrigs there : no such thing ; it is the work of the Peasants & farmers in winter & is brought into Warehouses in this city from all the neighbouring places, where Persons appointed for that purpose assort & rate it according to its value ; hither Merchants from Bremen, Amsterdam, &c. come & purchase. The ministry of England made a good bargain for the King if they did not for the nation, in the hire of the Hessians &c. The King will receive money from Parliament to replace all the men lost in the service, will raise those troops at little expence in Hanover, & returning the proper complement to the other Princes, his proper subjects have only to desert, which as the Countries adjoin, they easily may do, & his dominions have the same number of inhabitants as usual. I had wrote so much of my letter at Bremen, but found myself so jaded & sore, that I put off sending my letter till my arrival at Hambourgh where I now am. I shall stay no longer than I can get a little carriage for Berlin, which place my curiosity carries me to visit, as I find my business chiefly done here. I find the demand & price for Tobacco & rice enormous here. You shall have particu

lars if possible by the Holland post Tomorrow night. I find Mr Ross here. The ships which were stoppd here belong'd to him. For heavens sake let me hear from you directed under cover to some of Mr M——s friends or the Bureau de postes, Berlin. My very heart is sick with impatience; otherways my jolting, my fatigue, my walking about 80 miles in a week, has brac'd me wonderfully. I find Holland even more expensive than England. This place takes 5500 hogshead of Tobacco. That cursed scoundrel Sneik told every one I believe, that he spoke to in Amsterdam, that I lived with you at Paris, &c., &c. Some in consequence avoided me as the Pest, while others were equally or more disagreeable by their curiosity. Pray make the proper compliments for me to Mr B. M. Drs Bancroft & Du——rg, & give me a little comfort, by General sentences. Mr Jennings informs me that He shall be obliged to sue the scoundrels of trustees, but begs me to draw on him when I think fit. 'Tis a priviledge I shall only use when obligd to it, & at B. it will not be possible as I shall have no letters of credit there. Mr Tysett made no offers & I could not ask him as he knew not of my going farther. I congratulate you on appearances in England. My respects to the *Cara*.

Yours most sincerely,

Wm Carmichael.

Hambourgh, 11th Novembr, 1776.

To Silas Deane, Esq., Paris.

Thomas Mss.

To Messrs. Delap.

Paris, Novr 13th 1776.

Dear Sir,—The extraordinary paper inclosed in yours of the 9th is a fresh instance of the confident officiousness of those Gentlemen at Nantes who from an engagement to furnish certain articles to America, presume to stile themselves Agents of the Congress; inclosed you have a Copy of what I have wrote them,

and to counteract them untill they recall their Letter. I send you a short declaration which you may if you judge fit, copy, & give one to such pilots, or others, as you judge proper to be entrusted with it. In your future Letters I wish you to mention, the time of sailing of any vessel that may arrive from America. Capt Palmer who parted in August might have arrived in America before Capt Brook sailed, if they each had tolerable passages. As to Mr Crery's Brig I think it best to purchase her entirely, and the intelligence which you mention to have received renders your proposed alteration of the Cargo entirely just. I proposed the Brig to stand first for the New England Coast & if by stress of weather, or otherwise, should not be able to make a Harbour at Boston, or New London, to stand Southward as far as Virginia or South Carolina; returns from New England in Oil, Spermcetie, whalebone &c., may now be made to very good advantage, as may Tobacco, Indigo, Rice, Peltery or Furrs &c. from the Southward. I wish the Brig fitted for as many passengers as can be done with any convenience, and that you tell me in your next how early she may be ready to sail, to ease the Congress stock as much as possible here, I would propose the passages to be paid by them in America. Their passages will help the expences of the Vessel, & their being on board may be some defence, against Boats &c. The Cloth which I sent you a pattern of is $\frac{5}{8}^{th}$ wide & is from 29 to 30 sols pr. aun, but I had in view then principally supplying the slaves in the Southern Colonies, but as the season may be advanced before the Vessel arrives, lighter Cloths and of higher price might be substituted in part or in whole in lieu of these, in doing which I would not rise higher than 12 Livs—some Wiltons or what imitates them, a few ps of those strip'd silks would answer well, such as I bought at 6 Livs 10 pr. aun. The Jackets you mention you cannot easily ever do in Number at the price they before stood. As to silks, such as you saw me lay out in Bordeaux & such Rib-

bons will yield a great profit. Salt Petre is rose from 100 sols at which I bought to 13, & Powder is raising. I purchased, and shipp'd two hundred tonn at eighteen sols & had it one half best fusil; the other best Cannon for use of the Congress,—the same is now sold for twenty sols; the Man I bo^{t} it of, gives me a six Mo. Credit, and I insure it to Martinico and thence send it over in small Quantities to the Continent. Our Agreement, Copy of which I will inclose in my next, is that I am to draw the Bills on you for the amount to be accepted, conditioned that if effects are not in hand at the time of payment or I have other use for them, then I may take up those Bills by renewing them with fresh ones. You write as to passports: I know of none necessary hence; the passengers embark, & the Vessel sails for S^{t} Domingo, and in such case no passport is wanted from hence, no more than in common case; the Intendant of Bourdeaux knows where the Vessel is in reality bound, but the matter is thus passed over, which is different respecting England to which place they are not willing either their Officers or People should embark for, especially at a time so very critical as this. I have wrote Mons^{r} Broquins on the subject, who will obviate any difficulty as his Brother is of the number going out.

15th Nov^{r} Since writing the above I have learned from good authority the station of the English Men of War for the Winter, and find there will be none Eastward of Rhode Island or Southward of New York; the Cap^{t} therefore must be instructed to make his Harbour, either at Boston, Nantucket, Newbury Port or Portsmouth, if falling in Eastward; if Southward, in Delaware River, or somewhere as near as he possibly can, and you will write by him to M^{r}. Morriss. I will also by the next post send you inclosed a letter to my brother in N. England, to take care of her should she all in upon any part of that Coast. Some heavy articles are necessary for Ballast besides the 50 p. of Brandy. Window glass in Boxes 7 by 9, 6 by 8 inches, sheet and barr lead and painter's colours, such as red lead,

white lead, Spanish brown &c. are good articles & are in demand in every part of the Continent. I hourly expect Sir Robert Finlay by what you wrote and by him a particular Letter. I hope he may arrive so that I may reply particularly by next post. Where is M^r^. Clenachans ship? will she carry guns to advantage, and can she without much expence be put under French Colours; if she can I possibly might engage an employ for her to advantage. Has Cap^t^. Burch on board a good Pilot? if he has and will spare him on any terms, I wish he could be sent to Havre, or Nantes, immediately; if the former to the Care of Mess^rs^. Donge Ferry & C^o^, if to the latter to the care of Mess^rs^. Babut et la Bouchet. I shall have a large quantity of Goods & Stores of various kinds going from thence, for the use of the united Colonies and a Pilot is necessary, more indeed than one, if to be procured. As to the Affair of Long Island & the burning of New York they are melancholy considerations as to individuals many of whom were among my intimate Friends, but this by no means tends to decide the dispute but rather inflames it; and it is observable that General Howewith thirty thousand men aided by the greatest Fleet ever sent abroad by G. Britain has not as yet set his Foot on the Continent he is sent to subdue, nor was he on the 30^th^ of Sep^r^. master of more than one half of the small Island of New York, one end of Long Island & Staten Island, the whole not a territory of twenty mile square—in a word this trifling success will stop a while the sinking Credit of British stocks and encourage the Parliament to engage for another Campaign which will ultimately establish the Independance of America. I have wrote you a long letter & having many affairs on hand must omit saying what more is necessary untill the next post, before which I hope again to hear from you. I am meantime with respects to your Sister,

D^r^ Sir your most Obed^t^,
& very Humble Serv^t^.
S. DEANE.

I wrote you one line p^r^ Mons^r^. Duboesmartin. I have now to pray you to see that Gentleman and desire him to tarry at Bordeaux, untill he hears from me or from Mons^r^. Baron de Kalb.

To Mess^rs^. Sam^l^ & J. H. Delap, Merchants, Bordeaux.

Thomas Mss.

To Count de Vergennes.

Paris, Nov^r^. 17th, 1776.

Sir,—I have to inform Your Excellency of my receiving Letters of Consequence last Evening from the honorable, the Congress of the United States of North America and beg of Your Excellency to appoint a Time for my Communicating their Contents to You in private.

I am, with the most profound Esteem,
Your Excellency's,
Most Obedt. & Very Humb^e^. Servt.,
S. Deane.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 593.

To Count de Vergennes.

[Paris, Nov. 20th, 1776.]

May it please your Excellency,

In Obedience to the orders of the honorable Congress to me signified, by Letter of the 7th of August last, inclosing copy of one, of nearly the same Tenor, of the 8th of July, the original of which did not come to hand, I have the honor to deliver your Excellency the inclosed Declaration of the independance of the United States of North America, and to inform you that by the first of said Letters I was assured that the Congress were unanimous in this important resolution, and in the last their Committee say :

"The Congress have taken into consideration the heads of a Treaty to be proposed to France, but as they are not yet concluded upon we cannot say more of them per this Conveyance." (They also say) "We

have now near Eighty Thousand men in the different Colonies, in the pay of the Congress. The declaration of independance meets with universal Approbation, & the people seem every where still more animated by it in Defence of their Country."

I will not detain your Excellency longer than just to observe, that by the first Letter dated July the 8th, it appears that the Congress took measures immediately after declaring their independancy to have the same announced in Europe and first of all to the Court of France, and that by the latter it appears they were preparing such propositions for an Alliance as might be agreeable to your Court, but the Variety of Business before them, with the attention to the critical situation the two opposite Armies, must undoubtedly have, for some time, retarded their compleating their Deliberations on so important a subject, & when compleated the difficulty of transmitting the result may Acc^{t} for the particulars not being arrived.

I have the honor of being with the greatest respect
Your Excellencys most Obed^{t} &
Very humble Serv^{t} SILAS DEANE.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 592.

AGREEMENT WITH VISCOUNT DE MAUROY.

We, the undersigned, Charles Louis, Vicomte de Mauroy, Chevalier du Rousseau de Fayol, and de Sonneville, have the honour to propose their service to the very honourable Congress of the United States of America, on the following conditions :

The Vicomte de Mauroy shall be made Major-General of the Army, with the same pay, prerogatives, and honours as the American officers of the same rank, and he shall have in addition pay as a foreigner, which he leaves to the discretion of the States.

He shall be furnished before his departure from France with the sum of twelve thousand livres, money of France, one half thereof as a bounty, and the other

half as an advance of his pay ; the said pay commencing to run from this day.

Messrs. Chevalier du Rosseau de Fayol and de Sonneville shall be accepted as his Aids-de-camp, the former with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and the latter with the rank of Major, both with the pay apportioned to these ranks ; the said pay commencing to run from this day.

There shall be furnished to each of his Aids-de-camp before their departure, the sum of three thousand, or at least two thousand four hundred livres, money of France, for their equipment, one half as a bounty, the other half on account of their pay.

In case the American United States should not ratify in the whole the present agreement, [or] should they have made peace with the English on the arrival of the aforesaid persons, or should they from any pretext possible constrain them to return to France, their return shall be accomplished without difficulty, and the States shall furnish them the money necessary for the expenses of their return to Europe. On these conditions the aforesaid persons promise to serve the said States with all possible zeal and fidelity, to recognize the authority of the most honourable Congress as a power legitimate, and to obey it as well as the officers by it appointed, in all that shall be ordered to them for the service, defence, and preservation of their country.

In faith whereof we have signed the present. Done at Paris, the twentieth November, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six.

VICOMTE DE MAUROY.
DU ROUSSEAU, CHEVALIER DE FAYOLLE.
DE SONNEVILLE.
SILAS DEANE, Agent for the most honourable the Congress of the United States of North America.

Received of Silas Deane, at Paris, November 26th, sixteen thousand eight hundred livres, on account of the above. VICOMTE DEMAUROY.

Force's American Archives, 5th Series, III., 887.

To Conrad A. Gerard.

Versailles, Nov^{r} 23d, 1776.

I take the Liberty of Observing to you on the paper gave you this day during the Conversation I had the honor of having with you, that I drew it up in a leisure hour some Weeks since & have scarcely given it a second reading—but as it contains my sentiments, as an individual, & as I believe, of many of my Countrymen, I tho't it might be proper to submit the same to your view, & your impartial consideration in the same individual & unconnected Character, as I considered myself when writing them, & to ask your Opinion on them. As other Articles may soon arrive, this will shew how near my private sentiments agree with those of my Countrymen collectively.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest Respect & Esteem,

Sir, Your most Obed Very Humble Serv^{t}.

S. Deane.

Memoire by Silas Deane.

Proposed Articles of a Treaty between France and Spain and the United States, presented to M. Gerard, Nov. 23, 1776.

Memoire. It is to be presumed, that the following proposed Articles are simply the Result of the Thoughts of a private individual, on the Subject of a proposed Alliance between the Kingdoms of France and Spain in Europe and the United States of North America. He conceives the contracting parties to have two great Objects in View in their Alliance, which the Concurring Events of the present time have put it in their power to obtain.

On the part of France and Spain, to exclude Great Brittain from any future connection with America, its Islands or Seas, thereby at once to reduce her enormous Naval Power, secure their own Possessions, and

increase their Commerce and Marine to the highest degree Conceivable.

On the part of the United States of North America by such exclusion to secure to themselves Peace, Liberty & Safety in their possessions and Commerce.

Enough has been said on the Subject of this dispute to convince every one unprejudiced in favor of Great Brittain that these Objects, great as they are, are attainable in the present Crisis, which unattended to for a few Months may be out of the power of either party, United or Separate hereafter.

Proposals.

1st. The Thirteen United Colonies, now known by the Name of the Thirteen United States of North America, shall be acknowledged by France and Spain, and Treated with as independant States, and as such shall be guarantied in the possession and Dominion of all that part of North America on the Continent which by the last Treaty of Peace was ceded and Confirmed to the Crown of Great Brittain.

2d. The United States shall guaranty and confirm to the Crowns of France and Spain all and singular their Possessions and Claims in every other part of America, whither North or South of the Equator, and of the Islands possessed by them in the American Seas.

3d. Should France or Spain, either or both of them, possess themselves of the Islands in the West Indies, now in possession of the Crown of Great Brittain (As an indemnity for the injuries sustained by them in the last Warr in Consequence of its being commenced on the part of Great Brittain in Violation of the Laws of Nations) The United Colonies shall assist the said Powers in obtaining such Satisfaction, and guaranty & Confirm to them the Possession of such Acquisition.

4th. The Fisheries on the Banks of Newfoundland, of Cape Breton & parts adjacent, commonly called and

known by the Name of the Cod Fishery, shall be equally free to the Subjects of France, Spain, and the United States of North America, and to the Subjects of no other State or Nation. And the Islands of Newfoundland & Cape Breton equally free to either for curing and carrying on such Fisheries, under such Regulations as may prevent the almost possibility of any misunderstanding on the Subject.

5th. There shall be free Liberty of Commerce between the Subjects of France, and Spain, and the United States, respectively, and they shall mutually engage to protect and defend each other in such Commerce.

6th. The more effectually to preserve this Alliance, & to obtain the great Object in View, it shall be Agreed, that any and every British ship or vessel found or met with on the Coast of North America or South America or of the Islands adjacent, and belonging thereto, within a certain degree or distance, to be agreed on, shall be forever hereafter Considered as Lawful prize to any of the Subjects of France, Spain, and the United Colonies, and treated as such as well in Peace as in Warr. Nor shall France, Spain or the United States ever hereafter admit British Shipps into any of their Ports in America, North or South, or the Islands adjacent, nor shall this Article ever be altered or dispensed with but only by and with the Consent of each of the Three Contracting States.

7th. During the Present Warr between the United States & Great Brittain, France and Spain shall send into North America & support there a Fleet, to defend and protect the Coasts and Commerce of the United States, in Consequence of which if the Possessions of France & Spain shall be attacked in America by Great Brittain or her Allies, the United Colonies shall afford them all that Aid & Assistance in their power.

8th. No peace or Accomodation shall be made with Great Brittain by either of the Contracting parties to the infringement or Violation of any one of these Articles.

Should the foregoing Articles, revised & varied, or similar adopted, by any other private person, be thought deserving any Considerations of the Courts of France & Spain, the person proposing them, having a knowledge of the disposition of many principal Persons in high trust in the United States of North America, he will instantly transmit them, and they may undoubtedly merit the earliest & most serious Attention of the Congress, As that Body, having unanimously declared for independance of Great Brittain, and for Foreign Alliance, will be attentive to every proposal on the subject, though presented them by a private Individual.

Stevens's Facsimiles, Nos. 594, 595.

From Edward Bancroft.

Dear Sir,—I have this day received your two favours, and, in consequence of them, orders are this Evening given to Amsterdam to do what may be proper in our Company Transaction, & tomorrow as much will be attempted here as can be done with good people. Of all these Transactions you shall have an early & Particular acct. It will, however, be a matter of great importance for us to know as soon as possible whether the Bills drawn by Johnson & Co. are duly honoured, and in what Credit they are in your city. I suppose when their Partnership is published that you will take upon yourself the Character of their Factor, if the persons on whom their Bills are drawn have no Objections; if they should have any, you will be embarrassed and ought to respect their Zeal to serve the Company, but at all events, I think you can not generally announce the Partnership until you can be admitted as factor. I approve of yr sending a Copy to the Person you particularly mention, and I would accompany it with a civil note expressing the act to be by instructions, and that you have no personal disrespect to him. You say nothing about the Masts, Spars & Workmen which

were going to Johnson & C°, though this is a matter of great importance, & I long to hear of their being absolutely gone. I shall hasten M^r Morris as fast as possible; I have in vain tried to see for several days. Your Figures are very intelligible except where the Dots are omitted or loosely placed, w^h sometimes makes a little perplexity. Last Fryday evening I wrote you the then News; the Day following administration received Dispatches from Gen^l Carlton, of which I enclose you an acc^t You may depend on it that the Army is to return & winter in Canada. No News from New York, except that some of Howe's Provision ships & a company of Light Horse are taken, as are several Newfoundland Fishing Vessels. Parliament will probably adjourn on Fryday until the latter end of Jan^y, opposition having almost all seceded. Col. Fawcet is gone to Germany, to hire more Troops, I suppose; however, they are to be only one or two Regiments of Chasseurs. I shall be more particular on Fryday, and I would have you occasionally write thro' that channel to prevent suspicion in that Quarter. I am very intimate there, that is, with M^r G——r, we having stated nightly meetings, and I think I have occasioned his late Letters to take a more favourable turn than from some circumstances they would otherwise have done. The Alderman proves a greater scoundrel than I had imagined; to avoid extremities he will not now answer my Letters, but he has been publickly turned out of New Lloyd's Coffee House with the applauses of a most numerous Company, & his Character begins every where to stink. My best Complimens to M^r & M^rs Bromfield, & believe me ever yours, EDWARD BANCROFT.

London, 26^th November, 1776.

To Mons^r Deane.

Endorsed, D^r Bancroft, 26^th Nov., 1776.

Thomas Mss.

To the Secret Committee of Congress.

Paris, 26th November, 1776.

Gentlemen,—This serves only to enclose and explain the within state of the commerce of Leghorn, which was given me by the Envoy of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, a gentleman of universal knowledge and a warm friend to America, and, indeed, to all mankind. I have the honour of his acquaintance in an intimate degree, and having communicated to him a memoir setting forth the particular state of the commerce of America, with the history of its rise and increase, and its present importance, it being copy of what I delivered this Court, he marked the articles in demand in general, and those in particular, as you will see in the enclosed; after which he enumerated their articles for exportation, which, in my turn, I mark and observed upon as before you. I have only to add, the Grand Duke has taken off all duties on the American commerce to give it encouragement. This, indeed, is done rather privately to prevent complaints of other powers of seeming partiality; when I add to this, that it is agreed on all hands, ships of war may be purchased at Leghorn ready fitted for sea, cheaper than in any other port in Europe, I think a good acquaintance ought to be cultivated with this State.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

Silas Deane.

Force's American Archives, 5th Series, III., 851.

To the Secret Committee of Congress.

Paris, 26th November, 1776.

Gentlemen,—I send you enclosed an open letter for his Excellency Mr. Hancock, which, after perusing, please to seal and deliver. This will save me the saying the same things in this letter respecting the bearer, Mr.

Rogers, who will give you good information; and I have only to ask your patronage and introduction of him, as a young gentleman deserving the same, and who has ever interested himself in the cause of his country with zeal and firmness, and will, I trust, be of eminent service as he advances in years and experience. He has assiduously studied the theory of war since I have been here, is ingenious at drawing and designing, and understanding something of the French language, will prove, I am confident, a valuable acquisition.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

ENCLOSURE.

Paris, 27th November, 1776.

SIR,—The bearer, Mr. Rogers, is a native of Maryland, whom I fortunately met in the hotel I some months lodged in. He is in Paris finishing his education, and by my advice accepted the office of aid-de-camp to Mons. du Coudray, and accompanies him out to America. I have received many kindnesses from him, and, confident of his integrity, intrusted him with many things to relate to you *viva voce*, especially should my despatches fail. He has a general knowledge of the history of my proceedings, and what I have had at times to struggle with. As he speaks French tolerably, he will, I conceive, prove a valuable acquisition at a time when such numbers of foreigners are crowding to enter your service.

I am, wishing him a speedy and safe arrival, with the most profound respect for the honourable Congress, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

Hon. John Hancock.

Force's American Archives, 5th Series, III., 851. 867.

To the Secret Committee of Congress.

Paris, 27th November, 1776.

Gentlemen,—In a former letter I mentioned a naval enterprise, which might at first appear romantic, but the more it is considered the less danger I shall be in of being taxed on that score. Admiral Montague lately returned from the Banks, where the fishermen have had a wretched season, in consequence of the American privateers. He left two small sloops of war there, of 14 and 16 guns. In common years they leave six or seven thousand of their laborers or fishermen there, as in a prison, through the winter, employed in taking seals, repairing boats, stages, &c.; these are unarmed and ever dissatisfied to the last degree with their situation. Two frigates arriving early in February, would destroy the fishery for one if not two years, and obtain an acquisition of a fine body of recruits for your navy. I have conferred with some persons here on the subject, who highly approve the enterprise, but I submit it to your opinion, after urging despatch in whatever is done or attempted on that subject.

The resolution of the Court of Spain in the case of Capt. Lee, at Bilboa, gives every encouragement to adventurers in these seas, where the prizes are valuable, and where you have constantly harbors at hand on the coast of France and Spain to repair to and refit in, and where constant and certain intelligence can be had of the situation of the British ships of war, as well as of commerce. I need not add, on a subject so plain, and at the same time so important, but will only remind you that the Dutch, in the space of two or three years after their first revolt from Spain, attacked the Spaniards so successfully and unexpectedly in every quarter of the globe, that the treasures they obtained thereby enabled them to carry on the war. Let me repeat, that if you empower me or any other person here, you may obtain any number of ships of war on credit from individuals, on paying interest at five per cent. until the principal is

discharged. The King will probably have use for his, and besides, to let his go would be the same as a declaration of war, which in form at least, will for some time be avoided.

I write on different subjects in my letters, as they rise in my mind, and leave you to use as you may judge best, my sybil leaves, and am, gentlemen, &c.

SILAS DEANE.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I., 66.

TO CHARLES W. F. DUMAS.

[Paris, Nov. , 1776.]

DEAR SIR,—I am still indebted to you for your favours of the 29th ultimo, and the 15th instant, to which I should earlier have replied, but for a slight indisposition, and much chagrin at some unfavourable news. However, I am recovering in health, with which my spirits return, and I keep ever in my mind the motto *De republica nil desperandum.* I counted the cost, when I entered the lists, and ballanced private fortune, ease, leisure, the sweets of domestic society, and life itself, in vain against the liberties of my country; the latter instantly preponderated, and I have nothing to complain of, though much to grieve at, occasioned by the miscarriage or delay of my full powers, for open and public application. I sent you a memoir on American commerce, and wish to know your sentiments on that subject. The vessel, detained at Bilboa,* has been dismissed, and the commissary reprimanded for her detention, and ordered to lend the Captain every assistance he needed. This is a great point gained. I must suspend saying any thing on the proposals of officers for entering the service of the American States, as also of any thing further on the other artists I wrote about,

* The vessels detained at Bilboa were released in consequence of Grimaldi's letter of Oct. 7, printed in the Annual Register, 1776, p. 261.

until I receive intelligence, which I hourly have long expected, and which I think cannot possibly be far off, as I dispatched a vessel early in September, express, with an account of my situation, and that of affairs here; besides, a war is evidently at hand in Europe.

Mr. Carmichael warmly described the kind reception you gave him, and your zeal for the interest of the United States, and friendship for me, which he might have spared, as every one of your letters demonstrates the sincerity and disinterestedness of your friendship, as well for my country, as for myself; and as you value your being the first Plenipo. of the American States, I equally value myself on your friendship and correspondence in the part I have the honour of acting with you, in this important scene, and am happy to think that to the present and coming actors in, or spectators of, the foundation and rise of this new State, in a New World, our correspondence will shew that our sentiments ever coincided. Be not discouraged, my dear friend; America must come off, in the end, triumphant, and under a new and unprecedented system of laws, liberty, and commerce, be the happy asylum for the sons of men in future ages. Whatsoever disappointments I may meet with, I will never despair of my country, for which I shall count it my glory to suffer all things, if it receive any advantage therefrom, and if not, I shall, at least enjoy the pleasure, the unalienable pleasure, resulting from a consciousness of having done all in my power for its happiness, and, connectedly, for the happiness of mankind in general. The temper of the times is in favour of America, and it is now as fresh and as striking an object to Europe, as when first discovered and called the New World. It is among my principal mortifications, that I cannot have a few days, at least, personal conversation with you; but the situation of affairs here will not allow of a moment's absence, which Mons. Carmichael, I doubt not, explained to you. With persons, in public or private, who are friendly, yet equally apprehensive of consequences; willing to aid, yet timid

—and, at the same time, not well acquainted and informed, the task, you are sensible, is as laborious as delicate ; and, at a time, when events bear down argument, one cannot be released a moment from the closest attention to every thing rising, real or imaginary. Your lady's kind preparations for me, Mr. Carmichael most affectionately mentioned, and I will, life permitting, the moment I can quit Paris, in person, acknowledge, as far as words are capable of expressing, how sensible I am of the more than hospitable kindness ; since, to provide for and receive the stranger, on arrival, is the duty of Hospitality, but hers is a work of supererogation, and though no Roman Catholic myself, yet so Catholic as not the less to love and esteem generous actions on all occasions. My most respectful and affectionate regards, with my ardent wishes for your mutual felicity attend you. You merrily style yourself St. John, as the precursor, but I have many reasons for your standing in another point of view in scriptural allusion, and, therefore, as John is easily changed into Paul, and as we are fighting no common warfare, let it be, if you please, Paul and Silas

DEANE.

P. S. The news of New-York being evacuated is not confirmed, yet it is probable. But the event is of no great consequence, and by no means decisive.

Pray, for what sum per annum, can a young man be educated at Leyden, adhering to the strictest economy?

The Port Folio, III., 285, *Sept.* 3, 1803.

TO THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.

Paris, Nov^r. 28, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,—Your favor of the 7^th^ of August last, covering a copy of yours of the 8^th^ July, I received, tho' the original never came to hand. This letter also enclosed the Declaration of Independancy, with Instructions to make it known to this and the other powers

of Europe, and I received it the 17th Instant, tho' the vessel which brought it had but 38 days passage from Salem. This letter was very far from relieving me, as it inclosed what had been circulated through Europe for two months before, and my pretending to inform this Court could be only a matter of form in consequence of your orders, which were expressed in the state of any Common affair. I certainly prefer and must on all occations, simplicity of stile as well as in manners, but something is due to the dignity of old and powerfull States, or, if you please, to their prejudices, in favor of long accustomed form and etiquette; and as the United States of America by this act introduce themselves among the established powers, and rank with them, it must of course be expected that at the first introduction, or the announcing of it, some mode more formal, or if I may say so, more respectful, would have been made use of, than simply two or three lines from the Committee of Congress in a letter; something more apparently authentic, not that either your power or the reality of your Letter could be doubted. I mention this as something deserving of serious consideration, whither in your applications here, and your powers and Instructions of a public Nature, it is not always proper to use a seal? This is a very antient custom in all publick & even private concerns of any consequence.

Further, to keep a proper intercourse with Europe, it is by no means sufficient to write a single letter and leave it to be forwarded when the Captain of a Vessel thinks of it or has nothing else to do. Duplicates of every Letter should be lodged in every port, in the hands of faithfull & attentive persons, to be forwarded by the first conveyance to any part of Europe. Had this been practised since my leaving America, instead of receiving but two short letters from you, I might have had intelligence every month. Let me urge you, from the danger our affairs have been in of totally miscarrying for want of intelligence, to pay some attention to this in future.

As the copy was dated 8th July, I took occasion to observe that the honorable Congress had taken the earliest opportunity of informing this Court of the declaration of their Independancy, and that the variety of important affairs before the Congress, with the critical situation of the Armies in their Neighbourhood and the obstructions of their Commerce, had prevented that intelligence which had been wished for, but the present served to shew the early and principal Attention of the United States to this Court, and as their Independancy was now in form declared, the queries I had formerly put in consequence of my first Instructions, might now be resolved, and I hoped favorably. To this I was answered, unless France, by a publick acknowledgement of your Independancy makes war on Great Britain in your favor, what service can such acknowledgement be of to the United States? You are known here, our ports are open and free for your commerce, and your ships are protected in them. and greater indulgencies allowed than to any other Nations. If France should be obliged to make War on England, it will be much more just and honorable in the eyes of the world to make it on some other account; and, if made at all, it is the same thing to the United States of America, and in one important view, better for them to have it originate from any other cause, as America will be under the less immediate obligation. Further, France has alliances, and cannot resolve a question which must perhaps involve her in a War without previously consulting them. Meantime the United States can receive the same succours and assistance from France without, as well as with, such an open acknowledgement, and, perhaps, much more advantageously. To this and such like arguments I had the less to reply, as you informed me that Articles for a proposed Alliance with France were under Consideration, and that I might soon expect them.

I was further told that the Swiss Cantons, tho' in every respect free and independant States for several

Centuries, had not to this hour been acknowledged as such by any publick act of any one power in Europe except France, and that neither the revolution in the United Provinces or Portugal had been Attended with any such acknowledgement, tho' the powers of Europe in both cases lent their aid. I replied that I could not urge a formal acknowledgement so long as the same ends could be obtained, and without the inconveniences hinted at; besides, as I daily expected further instructions, would reserve myself until their arrival.

The apprehensions of the United States negociating has done us much damage, and the interview at New York, said to have been between a Commission of Congress and the Two Brothers, however politick the step in America, was made use of to our prejudice in Europe, at this Court in particular, as it has been for some time asserted, by Lord Stormont and others, that a negociation would take place, and as far as this is believed so far our cause has suffered and our friends staggered in their resolutions. My opinion is that the House of Bourbon in every branch will be our friends; it is their interest to humble Great Britain.

I am again haunted with Williamson, who certainly has the confidence of some well meaning people with you, and as certainly betrays it, for he is pimping into every Corner of France to see what is doing, under the pretence of being a zealous American, & every month or six weeks slips back to London, with his budget, which he unloads at Lord North's. I dare not have him attack'd as a Spy, as he would in such case be immediately defended by Lord Stormont, & I might be troubled to prosecute. I can only, therefore, warn you & all Americans against him.

Yesterday it was roundly affirmed at Versailles that a letter was received in London from Philadelphia, in which it was said I had wrote, advising the Congress to negociate, for that I could obtain no assistance from Europe. You can hardly conceive how danger-

ous even such reports are, and how prejudicial every step that looks like confirming them. The importance of America in every point of view appears more and more striking to all Europe, but particularly to this kingdom.

Enclosed I send you the size of Masts and Sparrs * with the price, which, if it will answer, may be a certain article of remittance, as may other Naval Stores, but I dare not contract with the Marine, as I have no powers therefor and am unacquainted with the rate at they were usually exported to England. A wide field is opening as the American Commerce is to be free, and I have had applications from many parts on the subject, tho' few are disposed to venture until the close of this Campaign, which, if it is not decisive against us, our wants will be supplied another season at as cheap a rate as ever, but I trust never more on the old terms of long credit.

I am well nigh harrassed to death with applications of officers to go out for America. Those I have engaged are, I trust, in general of the best character ; but that I should engage, or rather take from the hands of some leading men here, some one or two in a number, not so accomplished, cannot be surprizing, and may, considering my situation, be pardonable, but I have no suspicion of any such in my department, of consequence. I have been offered troops from Germany on the following general terms, viz. : Officers to recruit as for the service of France, and embark for St. Domingo from Dunkirk, and by altering their route, land in the American States. The same has been proposed from Switzerland, to which I could give no encouragement, but submit it to your consideration in Congress, whether if you can establish a credit, as I have before hinted, would it not be well to purchase at Leghorn five or six stout Frigates, which might at once transport some companies of Swiss and a quantity of stores, and the whole be defended by the Swiss soldiers on their passage ? Or, if you prefer

* Printed in Force's *American Archives*, 5th series, III. 885.

Germans, which I really do not, the vessels might go from Dunkirk. I daily expect important advices from the North respecting commerce at least, having sent to the King of Prussia, in consequence of a memorial he ordered his agent here to show me, and to propose some queries to me, a state of the North American commerce at large. I have presented memorial after memorial here, until in my last I think I have exhausted the subject so far as the present time, having in my last given the history of the controversy, obviated the objections made against us, and pointed out the consequences that must ensue to France and Spain if they permitted the Colonies to be subjugated by their old hereditary enemy. It consisted of fifty pages, and was, after being translated, presented to his Majesty and his Ministers, and I was assured was favorably received and considered. I presented it about two weeks since, and whether it has hastened the preparations or not, I cannot say. The Ministry were pleased to say, that I had placed the whole in the most striking point of view, and they believed with great justice. I could wish to send you copies of these, but I have no assistant, except occasionally, and the uncertainty of my situation will not permit my engaging for any thing certain to one who might deserve confidence, and those who are deserving are but few.

I would advise in concerns in this and other Kingdoms to have very little concern with Natives of Great Britain. Never, if to be avoided, but prefer Foreigners; it is more safe and more politick. I say Foreigners, but all are Foreigners alike in one sense; I except Messrs. Delaps, who are, tho' of Irish extract, born in France and have their whole connections here.

Bread will be scarce before the next harvest. Flour is now 22 to 23 Livers per C., and Tobacco is as I have before mentioned; and I promised myself you will not let slip so favorable an opportunity of making remittances to advantage. In expectation of your sending over Frigates to convoy your ships, and of your

giving some instructions on what I have wrote you of Operations in these seas, I design being at Bordeaux in March, when I shall be able to give you the needful directions in any such affair ; but, at any rate, send out a number of blank commissions for Privateers to be fitted out in Europe under your flag. The prizes must finally be brought to you for condemnation, and the principle advantage will remain with you. I have wrote largely and on many subjects, yet fear I have omitted something ; if so, must when I write again, recollect, on lesser subjects. I wish I had here one of your best Saddle Horses of the American or Rhode Island breed,—a present of that kind would be money well laid out with a certain personage ; other curious American productions at this time would, tho' trifles in themselves, be of consequence rightly timed and placed. I mentioned Mr. Rittenhouse's Orrery in a former letter, and I think Arnold's Collection of Insects, &c., &c., but I submit any step of this kind to your mature judgment. Mons. du Coudray will be with you by the receipt of this, with stores complete for 30,000 men. The extraordinary exertions of this gentleman and his character entitle him to much from the United States, and I hope the sum I have stipulated with him for, will not be considered extravagant, when you consider it is much less than is given in Europe. Baron de Kalb I consider as an important acquisition, as are many other of the officers whose characters I may not stay to particularize, but refer you to Baron de Kalb, who speaks English, and to Mr. Rogers, who are generally acquainted with them. As to Sea officers, they are not so easily obtained, yet some good ones may be had, and in particular two, one I have already mentioned ; the other is quite his equal, with some other advantages ; he was first Lieutenant of a Man of War, round the World with Capt. Cook sailed that Voyage, and has since had a ship, but wants to leave this for other service where he may make a settlement and establish a family. These two Officers would engage

a number of younger ones. Should they embark, I send herewith the plans of one of them for the burning of ships. I submit it to the honorable Congress, who are sensible of the variety and magnitude of the objects before me, whether it is not of importance to despatch some one of its body to assist me, or to take a part by his own immediate direction. I say some one of its body, as it will give dignity & rather support it in a proper manner, when you send persons known to possess your fullest confidence, would by his advice and assistance of such a one in Europe would be of service to me, though he were or I were occasionally at Madrid or Berlin. Having obtained some knowledge of the language, and an acquaintance with those in power here, as well as others, what abilities I have, which are ever devoted to my Country, can be employed here to the best advantage at present, but I submit my thoughts to your determinations, and am, with great truth and sincerity,

Your Most Obe^{t} &
Very Hum^{bl} Ser^{t},

SILAS DEANE.

Force's American Archives, 5th Series, III., 882.

TO THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.

Paris, 29th November, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,—The several letters you will receive with this, will give you some idea of the situation I have been in for some months past, though after all I must refer you to Mr. Rogers for particulars on some subjects. I should never have completed what I have, but for the generous, the indefatigable and spirited exertions of Monsieur Beaumarchais, to whom the United States are on every account greatly indebted; more so than to any other person on this side the water; he is greatly in advance of stores, clothing, and the like, and therefore I am confident you will make him the earliest and most ample remittances. He

wrote you by Mr. McCrery, and will write you again by this conveyance. A nephew of his, a young gentleman of family, education, and spirit, makes a voyage to America with Monsieur du Coudray, and is ambitious of serving his first campaigns in your service. I recommend him therefore to your particular patronage and protection, as well on account of the great merits of his uncle, as on that of his being a youth of spirit and genius ; and just entering the world in a foreign country, he needs protection and paternal advice to countenance and encourage him. This I have confidently assured his uncle he will constantly receive from you, and am happy in knowing you will fulfil my engagements on that score, and, in whatever department you may fix him, that you will recommend him to the patronage of some person on whom you may rely to act at once the friendly and the paternal part.

A particular account of the stores shipped may probably not be ready by this vessel, but may go by the next or some succeeding one, as several will sail after this on the same errand. Let me by every letter urge on you the sending in season a quantity of tobacco, of rice, and flour or wheat. These are articles which cannot fail, and are capital ones ; lesser are not to be admitted ; twenty thousand hogsheads of tobacco are this instant wanted in France, besides the demand in other kingdoms. I think Monsieur Beaumarchais wrote you under the firm of Hortalez & Co. ; if so, you will address him in the same style, but as I must probably remain here until the arrival of these articles, I can regulate that on the arrival of your despatches. I have advised these stores being shipped for some of the New England ports, northeast of Newport, first, and if failing of making a port there, to stand for the Capes of the Delaware, or for Charleston in South Carolina, as the most likely route to avoid interception. I cannot in a letter do full justice to Monsieur Beaumarchais for his great address and assiduity in our cause ; I can only say he appears to have undertaken it on great and

liberal principles, and has in the pursuit made it his own. His interest and influence, which are great, have been exerted to the utmost in the cause of the United States, and I hope the consequences will equal his wishes. I have the honor to be, &c.

SILAS DEANE.

My most respectful compliments wait on the honorable Congress. You will doubtless oblige Mrs. Trist by telling her, her husband and Capt. Fowler were in good health the middle of last month.

Force's American Archives, 5th Series, III., 900.

TO THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.

Paris, 29th November, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,—I have recommended several officers to your service, but none with greater pleasure, scarce any one with so much confidence of his answering great and valuable purposes, as the bearer, Colonel Conway, a native of Ireland, advanced in this service by his merit. His views are of establishing himself and his growing family in America; consequently he becomes our countryman and engages on the most certain principles. This gentleman has seen much service; his principal department has been that of training and disciplining troops, and preparing for action; and, from his abilities as well as from his long experience, he is considered as one of the most skilful disciplinarians in France. Such an officer must be, I conceive, of very great service, and his generously confiding in the honorable Congress for such rank and appointments as they shall confer, entitles him still more to our immediate attention and notice. I have assured him of the most favorable reception, and am confident he will receive the same.

Colonel Conway brings with him some young officers of his own training, who know well the English lan-

guage, and may be of immediate service in the same important department of discipline. As Colonel Conway has been long in service (though in prime of life), I am confident you will not think it right he should rank under those who have served under him in this kingdom, which will not be the case if he fill the place of an Adjutant, or Brigadier General, for which, I am well assured, he is every way well qualified. I have advanced him, as per receipt enclosed, towards his expenses and appointments or wages, and told him he may rely on your granting him one of the above ranks in the Continental forces. Should the honorable Congress have a new body of troops to form in any part of the Continent, this gentleman might take the direction of them to very great advantage, and may, I presume, be equally so in the station you may appoint him in the main army. I have the honor to be, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I., 76.

TO THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.

Paris, 1st December, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,—Among the many important objects which employ your whole attention, I presume ways and means for defraying the expense of the present war has a capital place. You will therefore give the following thoughts the weight which they deserve. In the first place, to emit more bills will be rather dangerous; for money, or whatever passes for such, when it exceeds the amount of the commerce of a state, must lose its value, and the present circumscribed state of the American commerce is perhaps within the amount of your emissions already made. Your bills, therefore, must be borrowed of individuals by the publick at interest, or those already emitted paid off by taxes and new emissions made. Some Colonies I am sensible may now be content with a tax,

but it is most probably quite out of the power of some, and a measure rather impolitick in a majority of the Colonies or States, *durante bello.*

To effect any considerable loan in Europe is perhaps difficult. It has not been tried, and on the probability of succeeding in this, I will give my sentiments hereafter. This is obvious that, let the loan be made when it will, it must have a day fixed for payment, and respect to some fund appropriated to that purpose. The relying on future taxes is holding up to the people a succession of distresses and burthens which are not to cease even with the war itself, whereas, could they have a prospect of paying the expenses of the war at the close of it, and enjoying the remainder of their fortunes clear of incumbrance, it must greatly encourage and animate both the publick and private spirit in pushing it on with vigor. A loan of six or eight millions, or a debt of that amount, will probably enable you to finish the war. This, I am confident, may be negotiated on terms which I will propose hereafter, but previously let it be attended to, that the present contest has engaged the attention of all Europe ; more, it will eventually interest all Europe in favor of the United States, the Russians in the north, and Portugal in the south, excepted—I make no consideration of the little mercenary electorates in my calculation. The mercantile part of the other powers are convinced, where their interest appears so evidently engaged. The political part are sensible of the importance of enlarging their own naval concerns and force, and of checking that of Great Britain. The good and wise part, the lovers of liberty and human happiness, look forward to the establishment of American freedom and independance as an event which will secure to them and their descendants an asylum from the effects and violence of despotick power, daily gaining ground in every part of Europe. From these and other considerations on which I need not be minute, emigrations from Europe will be prodigious immedi-

ately on the establishment of American Independancy. The consequence of this must be the rise of the lands already settled, and a demand for new or uncultivated land; on this demand I conceive a certain fund may now be fixed. You may smile, and recollect the sale of the bearskin in the fable, but at the same time must be sensible that your wants are real, and if others can be induced to relieve them, it is indifferent to you whether they have a consideration in hand or in prospect.

I trace the river Ohio from its junction to its head; thence north to Lake Erie; on the south and west of that lake to Fort Detroit which is in the latitude of Boston; thence a west course to the Mississippi, and return to the place of my departure. These three lines, of near one thousand miles each, include an immense territory, in a fine climate, well watered, and by accounts exceedingly fertile; it is not inhabited by any Europeans of consequence, and the tribes of Indians are inconsiderable, and will decrease faster than the lands can possibly be called for cultivation. To this I ask your attention as a resource amply adequate, under proper regulations, for defraying the whole expense of the war, and the sums necessary to be given the Indians in purchase of the native right. But to give this land value, inhabitants are necessary. I therefore propose, in the first place, that a grant be made of a tract of land at the mouth of the Ohio, between that and the Mississippi, equal to two hundred miles square, to a company formed indiscriminately of Europeans and Americans, which company should form a distinct state, confederated with and under the general regulations of the United States General of America. That the Congress of the United States shall, out of such grant, reserve the defraying or discharging the publick debts or expenses; one-fifth part of all the lands, mines, &c., within said tract, to be disposed of by the Congress in such manner as good policy and the publick exigencies may dictate, the said one-fifth

to be sequestered out of every grant or settlement made by the company, of equal goodness with the rest of such grant or settlement. The company, on their part, shall engage to have in seven years after the passing of such grant one thousand families settled on said grant, and civil government regulated and supported on the most free and liberal principles, taking therein the advice of the honorable Congress of the United States of North America. They shall, also, from and after their having one thousand families as above mentioned, contribute their proportion of the publick expenses of the Continent or United States, according to the number of their inhabitants, and shall be entitled to a voice in Congress, as soon as they are called on thus to contribute. The company shall at all times have the preference of purchasing the Continental or common interest thus reserved, when it shall be offered for sale. The company shall consist, on giving the patent or grant, of at least one hundred persons.

These are the outlines of a proposed grant, which you see contains more than 25,000,000 acres of land, the one-fifth of which, if a settlement is carried on vigorously, will soon be of most prodigious value. At this time a company might be formed in France, Germany, &c., who would form a stock of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, to defray the expense of this settlement. By such a step, you, in the first place, extend the circle of your connexion and influence. You increase the number of your inhabitants, proportionably lessen the common expense, and have in the reserve a fund for publick exigencies. Further, as this company would be in a great degree commercial, the establishing commerce at the junction of these large rivers, would immediately give a value to all the lands situate on or near them within the above extensive description, and further grants might admit of larger reserves, amply sufficient for defraying the expenses of the war, and possibly for establishing funds for

other important purposes. It may be objected that this is not a favorable time for such a measure. I reply that it is the most favorable that can happen. You want money, and by holding up thus early to view a certain fund on which to raise it, even the most certain in the world, that of land security, you may obtain the loan and engage the monied interest of Europe in your favor. I have spoken with many persons of good sense on this subject, which makes me the more sanguine.

As to a loan, I will now dismiss this scheme to speak of that, only adding, or rather repeating what I have in a former letter wrote, that a large and generous allowance ought immediately to be made for the officers and soldiers serving in the present war, in which regard should be had to the wounded, the widows or children of those who fall, and to the term or number of campaigns each one serves. This will make the army consist literally of a set of men fighting for freehold, and it will be a great encouragement to foreigners, with whom five hundred or a thousand acres of land has a great sound.

It has been a question with me at times whither, if our commerce were open and protected, the colonies would be wise in negotiating a loan. But on considering that before this war, the importations of the Colonies just about balanced their exportations, I cannot think it possible, with the most rigid economy, supposing exports as large as formerly, to make a lessening of consumption equal to the amount of the expenses of the war; and that consequently a debt must be contracted by the publick somewhere. The question which naturally rises on this is, whither it be most prudent to contract this debt at home or abroad? To me it admits of no doubt, that the latter is to be preferred on every account. If you can establish a credit and pay your interest punctually, the rate of interest will be less by two or three per cent. in Europe than in America; you will thereby engage foreigners by the

surest tie, that of their immediate interest, to support your cause, with many other obvious reasons for preferring the latter mode.

The next question is, where can you borrow, and what security can you offer? Holland is at present the centre of money and credit for Europe, and every nation is more or less indebted to them collectively to such an amount, that could the nations in Europe at once pay the whole of their debts to this Republick of Mammon, it would as effectually ruin it, as the breaking in of the sea through their dykes. Would you know the credit and situation of the affairs of the different kingdoms, consult the books of the Dutch banks. This kingdom has been in bad credit from the villainy of a late Comptroller General, as it is said, one Abbé Terrai, against whose administration the severest things have been said and wrote. He was succeeded by the much esteemed Mons. Turgot, and stocks rose, and a commission given a banker (a correspondent of mine in Amsterdam) to negotiate a loan, but the dismission of Mons. Turgot, and the indifferent opinion which monied men at least had of his successor, Mons. Clugny, prevented the loan and fell the stocks. Mons. Clugny died last week, and is succeeded ostensibly by one Monsieur Tabouron; I say ostensibly, for one M. Necker, a noted Protestant banker, is joined with him as Intendant of the Treasury. This raised stocks immediately, and I am told they have already risen ten per cent. This is the most politick appointment that could have been made, and it deserves our notice, that where a man has it in his power to be of publick service, his principles of religion are not a sufficient obstacle to hinder his promotion even in France. This will probably enable this kingdom to borrow money, which from all appearances will be soon wanted. Spain, from the punctuality of its payments of interest and its well known treasures, is in high credit in Holland. Denmark borrows at four per cent., Sweden at the same;

the emperor of Germany, from the security of his hereditary dominions, and the empress of Russia, from her having lately paid part of the large sum she borrowed in the Turkish wars, are both of them in good credit. The credit of Great Britain, though it has not fell, yet it is in a ticklish situation, with those foreseeing people, who, on receiving the news of the action on Long Island, which raised stocks a trifle in England, began immediately to sell out.

Not a power in Europe, the King of Prussia excepted, can go to war without borrowing money of Holland, to a greater or less amount, and whilst so many borrowers are in its neighborhood, whose estates, as I may say, are settled and known, it is not to be expected Holland will be fond of lending money to the United States of North America, though we should offer an higher interest. To offer a large interest might be tempting, but it would be very ruinous to us, and I conceive it will never be thought prudent to permit higher than five per cent. interest in the States of North America, and this is but one per cent. more than is given in Europe.

This view leads me again to reflect, as I constantly do, with the utmost grief, on the unaccountable delay of proper authority announcing the Independancy of the United States of North America, and proposing terms of alliance and friendship with France and Spain. This, I am as confident, as I can be of anything not already effected, would at once remove this and many other difficulties; would put our affairs on the most established and respectable footing, and oblige Great Britain herself to acknowledge our Independancy and court our friendship or hazard the chance of ceasing to be a nation. On such powers being received and presented, these Kingdoms, I have no doubt, would become our guaranty for the money we want, and the produce of our country will be wanted for the interest, and even the principal, as fast as we can transport it hither. But as no such powers and instruc-

tions are received, it is possible you mean not to send any.

I will mention a few thoughts on another plan. You are not in want of money, but the effects of money in the manufactures of Europe. For these the Colonies or United States must now have a demand to the amount of some millions sterling. These manufactures are to be had principally in France and Holland. As to the latter, they have not at present, and are resolved never to have, any peculiar connexion with or friendship for any power, further than their commerce is served by it, but that is not the ruling passion of the former. But the desire of humbling their old rival and hereditary enemy, and aggrandizing their monarchy, are predominant, and never was there a more favorable opportunity than the present; so favorable is it, that were the funds of this Kingdom in a little better situation, and were they confident that the United States of America would abide by their Independancy, not a moment's time would be lost in declaring, even though you had made no application direct. Whatever part this kingdom takes will be pursued by the Court of Madrid. Would this Court give a credit, even to private merchants, it would answer the same purpose as a loan; as, for instance, the United States want about three million value of manufactures annually (it has heretofore been rising of that) from Europe. If this Court will give a credit to that amount to any body of men in the Kingdom, that company may engage to pay the Court the same amount in Continental bills within a limited time; this company may send to America supplies to that amount, as the Congress shall order such goods as are wanted, either for army or navy; the Congress will instantly deposit their bills for the amount; the residue may be sold at a stated advance for Continental bills, the whole of the amount immediately put on interest to this Court; this will be the calling in of such an amount of the bills, and, of course, give the greater currency

to the whole. Meantime, this Court must become interested to have the commerce free, by which, alone, remittances can be made. This is but a sudden thought, recommended to you for digesting, if deemed worthy of pursuing. That something this way, may be effected I can have no doubt, while I have this most unequivocal evidence: I am now credited to the amount of all the supplies for thirty thousand men, a train of artillery, amounting to more than two hundred pieces of brass cannon, ammunition, &c., &c., which must be of near half a million sterling, not ostensibly by the Court, but by a private company. At the same time other companies, as well as individuals, after offering any loan or credit I should ask, always brought in sooner or later the condition of having my bills endorsed by some banker or person of credit—where, you are sensible, in my situation the affair ended, though in several instances I had the most flattering encouragement, and expected most assuredly no security would be required. But that this particular house should be able and willing to advance this prodigious sum at once, and without security, is no way surprising, but perfectly consistent with what I have all along asserted.

The most effectual card now played by the British Ambassador is, asserting that an accommodation will soon take place, and by some means or other conjecturing my want of powers by my not publickly appearing at Court. He is bold in this assertion, and I find it the greatest difficulty I have to encounter. But I will not enter on a subject, which has well nigh distracted me, and embarrassed and disheartened in a greater or less degree every friend of America. The late conduct of the Court of Spain respecting Captain Lee, whose case I mentioned before, is a striking proof of what I have so positively asserted of the good disposition of both these Courts. They dismissed the complaint against him, afforded him protection, with assurances of every assistance he might need, declaring publickly

that their ports were equally free for Americans as for Britons. I have besides these overt acts still more convincing proofs that the moment your application is made everything will be set in proper motion.

I now dismiss a subject which has given, and still continues to give me as much anxiety as I can struggle with, and mention another, a little new but, indeed, somewhat connected with it: it is the equipping of a number of American ships of war in the ports of France. Considering the price of duck, cordage, ordnance, and other military stores in America, they may be built much cheaper here. This is not the sole advantage; they may carry over stores of every kind in safety, as being French bottoms, ostensibly at least. All the brave and ingenious in the Marine Department in this kingdom would become adventurers in person, or in purse and influence in such a scheme; and I speak on good grounds, when I say, in three months after receiving your orders I can have ten ships of at least thirty-six guns each, at your service, independant of assistance immediately from Government; so much attention is paid to the American cause by all persons of consequence in this kingdom. The honorable Congress must I conceive either continue emitting bills or borrow money, and I submit whether it be not preferable to borrow of foreign states than of individuals, in the present situation of American affairs. If of foreigners I am convinced you may borrow five or six millions of Holland, on France becoming your security. This, I am confident, may be obtained on application to this Court and Spain, and that on these principles, they can by no means be willing to permit the Colonies to return to their former subjection to Great Britain, armed as both countries are. Their possessions in America must lie at the mercy of Great Britain, on such an event as a reconciliation with the Colonies. The Colonies being in want of the manufactures of Europe, of this kingdom in particular, this sum would, a principal part of it, rest in France and give a great spring to their

manufactures, and give them the advantage of the first lead in American commerce. These are important objects, and I have no doubt would be considered of consequence sufficient for them to risk such a credit. Rich individuals offer to supply any quantity of goods or stores on such security, and I believe the latter would do considerable, were they only assured of five per cent. interest on their debts after due. But I submit the whole to the mature consideration of the honorable Congress, and I am, &c. SILAS DEANE.

Force's American Archives, 5th Series, III., 1019.

TO CONRAD A. GERARD.

Paris, 2d Decem^r^, 1776.

SIR,—I send you the inclosed Letter for London and pray you to forward it under cover. I propose to do myself the honor of waiting on you on Thursday morning; meantime pray you to return me the Articles which I gave you, inclosed, by the Bearer who will safely deliver them. I think I left in your Library, when I had the honor of waiting on you last, on your table, a thick paper inclosing one or two others; if so I pray you, to send them to me by the Bearer of this.

I have received intelligence from London, that Genl. Carleton was returned to Canada to take up his Winter Quarters.

I have the honor to be, with much respect,
Your most Obedient & Very Hum^e^ Servt.
S. DEANE.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 596.

TO COUNT DE ARANDA.

Paris, 2d December, 1776.

May it please Your Excellency:

In accordance with the orders of the honorable Congress of the United States of North America, I

have the honor to present to Your Excellency the Declaration of their Independance which I attach to this letter. This Declaration was despatched to me immediately after the independance was decided upon, but it was intercepted by one of those accidents common to War, otherwise it would have been presented much sooner to Your Excellency. During this accidental delay, the United States have had, in the treatment which has been experienced by their Vessels in Spanish ports, a very striking example of the generosity, the justice, and the impartiality which animate his Catholic Majesty. This demands, on their part, the most lively and sincere thanks; and, as their Agent, I humbly beg your Excellency to be good enough to assure his Majesty in the most expressive terms, that their gratitude is infinite, and that they will ever preserve a most pleasing remembrance of his impartial justice.

My imperfect acquaintance with the other languages of Europe has obliged me to write to Your Excellency in English; I trust that you will excuse me, and believe me, with the deepest respect,

Your Excellency's Very Humble and
Very Obedient Servant,
SILAS DEANE,
Agent for the United States of North America.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 909.

TO THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.

Paris, 3d December, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,—My letters from Bordeaux and since, to which I have received no reply, will give you my situation, but lest some of them fail, I will briefly in this give you the history of my proceedings. Immediately on my arrival, I sent forward your bills, a large part of which were protested, and intelligence arriving of the loss of Canada, and that Carleton was even on

the frontiers of the Colonies, and at the same time the formidable armament gone and going over, made every one here give up the Colonies as subdued. To have tried for a credit under such circumstances would have been worse than useless, it would have been mortifying, as a refusal must have been the consequence. Mr. Delap generously offered to advance five or six thousand pounds, but when I considered it was already more than four months since you began to prepare for remitting, and that next to nothing was received, I really found myself embarrassed, and hoping every day for some relief, I suspended engaging, and came up to Paris, having previously sent Mr. Morris's letter to his different correspondents, not one of which appeared inclinable to be concerned in a credit.

I sent to procure the goods in Amsterdam, if to be had, but found our credit worse there than in France. A gentleman here offered me a credit for a million of livres, but it was, when explained, on the following conditions: I must produce direct authority from the Congress, with their promise of interest; all American vessels must be sent to his address; and until this could be secured him I must provide a credit, or in other words a security in Europe. Here you are sensible my negotiation ended. I then contracted for the supplies of the army, and crowded into the contract as large a proportion of woollens as I well could, sensible that with them you might do something, and hoping your remittances might still arrive, or some intelligence of the situation of your affairs, for I thought I judged rightly, that if in six or seven months you were unable to send out one third the remittances, the returns must be equally difficult. On this ground I have been anxiously waiting to hear something from you. Meantime I shipped forty tons of saltpetre, two hundred thousand pounds of powder, via Martinique, one hundred barrels via Amsterdam. The late affairs at Long Island, of which we had intel-

ligence in October, and the burning of New York, the report of Carleton's having crossed the lakes, and that you were negotiating, has absolutely ruined our credit with the greater part of individuals; and finding so little prospect of completing the Indian goods, I have attended the closer to despatch the supplies for the army, for which I had obtained a credit ostensibly from a private person, but really from a higher source. Meantime the monies remitted are in Mr. Delap's hands, except what I have drawn out for my private expenses, for payment of the saltpetre, for the fitting out of Captain Morgan, and for the equipment of certain officers going to America. For the 200,000 weight of powder Mr. Delap is my surety; consequently should he receive nothing more from you he will have no considerable balance in his hands. Could I have received but one half the amount in any season, I would have ventured on the goods long before this, but to what purpose would it have been, could I have been credited the amount, if you were unable to remit? The same obstruction must subsist against their arrival. I am, however, at last promised the goods on credit by the same way as the stores have been procured, and hope to ship them this month; but some of the articles are not manufactured any where in Europe except Great Britain, and others must be substituted in the best manner I can.

I have written to Mr. Delap to send you his account, also to send the particulars to me, which I will transmit as soon as received. The goods may be expected in the month of February; meantime I pray you, not on this account only, but on others, to exert yourselves in remitting so much as to support the credit of the Continent, for which I am now engaged to a very great amount. Tobacco, rice, flour, indigo, peltry, oil, whale fins, flaxseed, spermaceti, masts, spars, &c., are in good demand. Tobacco at 9 to 10 sous per lb. and rising, free of duty or expense, save com-

mission. Rice 30 livres per cwt. Flour 22 to 24 livres.

I am, most respectfully, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

P. S. When I say tobacco is free of duty, I mean if sold to the Farmers-General directly; on other conditions it is inadmissible at any rate.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I., 88.

TO JOHN JAY.

Paris, 3d December, 1776.

DEAR JAY,—If my letters arrive safe they will give you some idea of my situation. Without intelligence, without orders, and without remittances, yet boldly plunging into contracts, engagements, and negotiations, hourly hoping that something will arrive from America. By General Coudray I send 30,000 fusils, 200 pieces of brass cannon, 30 mortars, 4000 tents and clothing for 30,000 men, with 200 tons of gun powder, lead, balls, &c., &c., by which you may judge we have some friends here. A war in Europe is inevitable. The eyes of all men are on you, and the fear of your giving up or accommodating is the greatest obstacle I have to contend with. Mons. Beaumarchais has been my Minister in effect, as this Court is extremely cautious, and I now advise you to attend carefully to the articles sent you. I could not examine them here. I was promised they should be good and at the lowest prices, and that from persons in such station, that had I hesitated it might have ruined my affairs. But as in so large a contract there is room for imposition, my advice is that you send back to me samples of the articles sent you. Cannon, powder, mortars, &c. are articles known; but send clothes, the fusils, &c. by which any imposition may be detected. Large remittances are necessary for your credit, and the enormous

price of tobacco, of rice, of flour, and many other articles, gives you an opportunity of making your remittances to very great advantage; 20,000 hogsheads of tobacco are wanted immediately for this kingdom, and more for other parts of Europe.

I have written you on several subjects, some of which I will attempt briefly to recapitulate. The destruction of the Newfoundland fishery may be effected, by two or three of your frigates sent there early in February, and by that means a fatal blow given to Great Britain,—I mean by destroying the stages, boats, &c., and by bringing away the people left there, as prisoners. Glasgow in Scotland may be plundered and burnt with ease, as may Liverpool, by two or three frigates, which may find a shelter and protection in the ports of France and Spain afterwards. Blank commissions are wanted here to cruise under your flag against the British commerce. This is a capital stroke and must bring on a war. Hasten them out I pray you. France and Spain are friendly, and you will greatly oblige the latter by seizing the Portuguese commerce wherever it is found. I have had overtures from the king of Prussia in the commercial way, and have sent a person of great confidence to his Court with letters of introduction from his Agent here, with whom I am on the best terms. A loan may be obtained for any sums at five per cent. interest, perhaps less, if you make punctual remittances for the sums now advanced. The Western Lands ought to be held up to view as an encouragement for our soldiers, especially foreigners, and are a good fund to raise money on. You may, if you judge proper, have any number of Germans and Swiss troops; they have been offered me, but you know I have no powers to treat. A number of frigates may be purchased at Leghorn, the Grand Duke of Tuscany being zealously in favor of America, and doing all in his power to encourage its commerce. Troubles are rising in Ireland, and with a little assistance much

work may be cut out for Great Britain, by sending from hence a few priests, a little money, and plenty of arms. *Omnia tentanda* is my motto, therefore I hint the playing of their own game on them, by spiriting up the Caribs in St. Vincent's, and the Negroes in Jamaica, to revolt.

On all these subjects I have written to you; also on various particulars of commerce. Our vessels have more liberty in the ports of France, and Spain, and Tuscany, than the vessels of any other nation, and that openly. I presented the Declaration of Independance to this Court, after indeed it had become an old story in every part of Europe; it was well received, but as you say you have articles of alliance under consideration, any resolution must be deferred until we know what they are. The want of intelligence has more than once well nigh ruined my affairs; pray be more attentive to this important subject, or drop at once all thoughts of a foreign connexion.

Had I ten ships here I could fill them all with passengers for America. I hope the officers sent will be agreeable; they were recommended by the Ministry here, and are at this instant really in their army, but this must be a secret. Do you want heavy iron cannon, sea officers of distinction, or ships? Your special orders will enable me to procure them. For the situation of affairs in England I refer you to Mr. Rogers, Aid de Camp to Mons. du Coudray. I have presented a number of memoirs, which have been very favorably received, and the last by his Majesty, but my being wholly destitute of other than accidental and gratuitous assistance will not permit my sending you copies. Indeed, I was obliged to make them, so as to explain the rise, the nature, and the progress of the dispute. I have been assured by the Ministers that I have thrown much light on the subject, and have obviated many difficulties, but his Majesty is not of the disposition of his great-grandfather, Louis XIV. If he were, England would soon be ruined. Do not forget

or omit sending me blank commissions for privateers; under these, infinite damage may be done to the British commerce, and as the prizes must be sent to you for condemnation, the eventual profits will remain with you.

Doctor Bancroft has been of very great service to me; no man has better intelligence in England, in my opinion, but it costs something. The following articles have been shewn to me; they have been seen by both the courts of France and Spain, and I send them to you for speculation.

1st. The thirteen United Colonies, now known by the name of the thirteen United States of North America, shall be acknowledged by France and Spain, and treated with as Independant States, and as such shall be guarantied in the possession of all that part of the continent of North America which by the last treaty of peace was ceded and confirmed to the crown of Great Britain.

2dly. The United States shall guaranty and confirm to the crowns of France and Spain all and singular their possessions and claims in every other part of America, whether north or south of the equator, and of the Islands possessed by them in the American seas.

3dly. Should France or Spain, either or both of them, possess themselves of the Islands in the West Indies now in possession of the crown of Great Britain (as an indemnity for the injuries sustained in the last war, in consequence of its being commenced on the part of Great Britain in violation of the laws of nations), the United Colonies shall assist the said Powers in obtaining such satisfaction, and guaranty and confirm to them the possession of such acquisition.

4thly. The fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, of Cape Breton, and parts adjacent, commonly known and called by the name of the Cod Fishery, shall be equally free to the subjects of France, Spain, and the United States, respectively, and they shall mutually

engage to protect and defend each other in such commerce.

5thly. The more effectually to preserve this alliance and to obtain the great object, it shall be agreed that every and any British ship or vessel found or met with on the coasts of North America, of South America, or of the Islands adjacent and belonging thereto, and within a certain degree or distance to be agreed on, shall be forever hereafter considered as lawful prize to any of the subjects of France, Spain, or the United Colonies, and treated as such, as well in peace as in war; nor shall France, Spain, or the United Colonies ever hereafter admit British ships into any of their ports in America, North and South, or the Islands adjacent. This article never to be altered or dispensed with but only by and with the consent of each of the three contracting States.

6thly. During the present war between the United States and Great Britain, France and Spain shall send into North America, and support there, a fleet to defend and protect the coasts and the commerce of the United States, in consequence of which, if the possessions of France or Spain should be attacked in America by Great Britain or her allies, the United States will afford them all the aid and assistance in their power.

7thly. No peace or accommodation shall be made with Great Britain to the infringement or violation of any one of these articles.

I am, with the utmost impatience to hear from you,

Dear Sir, yours, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I., 90.

TO ROBERT MORRIS.

Paris, Dec. 4th., 1776.

I know not but the Freedom with which I have complained may offend. I cannot help it. I do not mean

to offend, but cannot help writing something what I feel at the time. Eight months with but two letters, when so much depended on the most exact and constant correspondence, has been by much the most trying scene of my life. I am now entering on a most delicate affair, which is affecting your brother. I saw him in Paris the beginning of July, since which he has been in England, and I have rec^{d}. two letters from him.

You may have given him in yours of 11 Aug^{t}. a just character; but, my dear friend, I am afraid from good advice from London, that pleasure has got too strong hold of him. On his arrival in London, a respectable friend of mine wrote me that the company he dipp'd at once into was so dissolute and expensive that it very essentially injured the reputation of your house, of which he was considered as being a member.

Ever since the receipt of yours respecting the purchase of goods here I have been urging him by letters to return to France, as it is absolutely impossible for me to leave Paris for one week without danger to the public interests of the Colonies. Hitherto he has not answered my letters. You desire me to write you freely concerning him, and I obey, tho' men in such cases are prone to be offended by such Freedoms, even when they have asked them of their friends, but I have too much confidence in your generosity of sentiment to be under apprehensions on that account.

I doubt not that advisary letters from you will have a very great effect, and, believe me, I will exert my little influence and abilities, if he return hither, to lead him to other pursuits. I have a prospect of being able to send out a large quantity of goods early in the Spring, but this very much depends on my having your brother, or some other for an assistant, for to trust at random is too dangerous.

Our credit with individuals since the affair on Long Island and New York has been most wrecked, and having no intelligence from you by which to counteract

the reports exaggerated and spread by British emissaries has compleated the triumph.

I wrote from Bordeaux by Capt. Leavey and I learn that the letters were delivered safe, and the vessel is returned again to Bordeaux on another voyage, but without letter or intelligence of any kind.

I know not what to think of such neglect. Everyone here judges in consequence of it that you are certainly negotiating or giving up the cause, and the British Ambassador, with the British agents, roundly assert it; and with every appearance against me I strive to convince them of the contrary by every argument I am able to suggest, tho' I honestly own my heart sometimes fails me on the subject. Much might be done here in the way of a loan, of purchasing ships and engaging foreigners, and procuring such goods as are wanted, were there proper powers sent out, and your agents properly supported by remittances and constant intelligence.

But I will not enlarge on a subject that has given me more distress already than any other event of my life, and my life has been very far from being the most calm and placid. If any other letters arrive, as they will share the fate of this, they will inform in general of everything I have to communicate of consequence that can be communicated in letters.

This Kingdom is by much the best calculated of any in Europe, Great Britain excepted, to supply the demands of the Colonies, and to receive in return the goods of their growth and procuring. I sent 40 tonns of Saltpetre to the Congress, which I bought at ten sous. It has since risen to 14. I also shipp'd two hundred thousand weight of powder for Martinique at 18 sous. This has since rose to 21, on the apprehension of a war. I also sent you a quantity of powder from Bordeaux, amount uncertain at present, having not heard from my friends since its sailing.

If you would establish the glass manufactury, you may have the best workmen from hence—The French

exceeding every other nation in that branch of business. Any other workmen may be procured on good terms at a time like this. This, on good terms, as every one of an adventurous spirit is looking towards America as the stage on which to exhibit their abilities, and to find a home.

Several proposals are before me for sending out goods: 1st. To send to Martinique and receive the pay for them there. 2d. To be jointly concerned, but to establish a credit in Europe for our share. This is difficult. 3d. To be jointly concerned, and for me to draw bills on your House, payable in America for our share. This is the best proposal. Or, 4th. To send out goods consigned to your House.

Some one will take effect, without doubt, for as large a sum as 40 thousand pounds. Be it which it will, I expect to be equally concerned with you, as I shall have the principal charge of the affair here.

My most sincere respects to Mrs. Morris. Pray write my family, and let me hear thro' you of their situation.

I am, with much esteem, your sincere
friend and very humⁱ. Servᵗ.,
S. Deane.

To Robert Morris.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

From Benjamin Franklin.

Auray in Brittany, 4 December, 1776.

I have just arrived on board the Reprisal, Captain Wickes, a small vessel of war belonging to Congress. We are in Quiberon Bay, awaiting a favorable wind to go on to Nantes. We left the Cape the 29th of October, and have been but 30 days from land to land. I remained on board three days after we dropped anchor, hoping to be able to go up to Nantes in our ship, but the wind continuing unfavorable, I came here to go on by land to Nantes.

Congress in September named you, Mr. Jefferson, and myself, to negotiate a treaty of commerce and friendship, with the Court of France. Mr. Jefferson, then in Virginia, declined. Thereupon Mr. Arthur Lee, at present in London, was named in his place. Our vessel has brought indigo for the account of Congress, to the value of about £3,000 sterling, subject to our order, to meet our expenses. Congress has appropriated, in addition, £7,000 for the same object, which the Committee will transmit as soon as possible.

I find myself here as near to Paris as I shall be at Nantes, but I am obliged to go there to provide myself with money for my journey, and to get my baggage, which was left on the ship. I shall endeavor to join you as soon as possible. I propose to retain my *incognito* until I ascertain whether the court will receive ministers from the United States. I have several letters for you from the Committee, which I do not send forward because I know they contain matters of consequence, and I am not certain of their safety in that way. Besides, as I intend to take the post at Nantes, I imagine it will make but three or four days' difference. We fell in with two brigantines at sea, one Irish and the other English, which we captured and brought into Nantes.

I do not know that the captain can get permission to sell them here, as that would be in contradiction of the treaties between the two crowns. They are worth about £4,000. We have had a tedious passage, and I am weak, but hope that the good air which I breathe on land will soon reëstablish me, that I may travel with speed to join you in Paris, and there find you in good health.

I am, etc.,
B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. If you could find some means to notify Mr. Lee of his nomination, it would be well to do so. Perhaps the best way would be through the Depart-

ment of Foreign affairs and the French Ambassador. The regular post would not be safe.

I beg you to procure lodgings for me.

Bigelow's Works of Franklin, VI., 34.

To the Secret Committee of Congress.

Paris, 6th December, 1776.

Gentlemen,—You have enclosed duplicate of agreement with Monsieur du Coudray, of my orders for clothing, stores, &c., of my agreement with Baron de Kalb and others of his train, also with the Comte de Monau and his, which I hope will be agreeable, also the agreement for freight of the ships, which I was assured by letters from Bordeaux and elsewhere was as low as could be procured. At the same time, if it is above the stated price, in such cases I am promised an abatement. I hope the peculiarity of my situation, and the anxious desire I have of forwarding aid to my country, will be considered if any of the articles are thought high. Men cannot be engaged to quit their native country and friends to hazard life and all in a cause which is not their own immediately, at the same easy rate as men will do who are fighting literally *pro aris et focis*, and it is an universal custom in Europe to allow something extra to foreigners; but my allowances are very much below the rates here for officers in the same station.

I submit one thought to you: Whether if you could engage a great general of the highest character in Europe, such, for instance, as Prince Ferdinand, Marshal Broglio*, or others of equal rank to take the lead of your armies, whether such a step would not be politic, as it would give a character and credit to your military and strike perhaps a greater panic in our enemies. I only suggest the thought and leave you

* Deane confounds the Count Broglio with his brother, the Marshal and Duke.

to confer with the Baron de Kalb on the subject at large.

I have the honor to be, with the most profound respect for the Congress, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

Lee Papers, Harvard University.

Enclosures.

List of Officers of Infantry and Light Troops destined to serve the United States of North America.

NAMES OF OFFICERS.	RANK.	COMMENCEMENT OF THEIR PAY.
Messrs. Le Baron De Kalb,	Major-General,	7th Nov., 1776.
Le Vicount De Mauroy,	Major-General,	20th do.
De Senneville,	Major,	7th do.
Le Chev. Dubuysson,	Major,	7th do.
Le Chev. De Fayoles,	Lieut.-Colonel,	20th do.
Dubois Martin,	Major,	20th do.
De Holtzendorff,	Lieut.-Colonel,	26th do.
Le Chev. De Failly,	Lieut.-Colonel,	1st Dec., 1776.
Amariton,	Major,	do.
De Roth,	Captain,	do.
De Gerard,	Captain,	do.
Philis de Roseval,	Lieutenant,	do.
De Montis,	Lieutenant,	do.
Loquet de Granges,	Lieutenant,	do.
De Vrigny,	Capt. d'une Comp'y Franche,	do.
Candon,	Lieutenant,	do.

The said ranks and pay at the dates marked in the present list have been settled mutually between us, the undersigned, me, Silas Deane, in my quality of deputy of the most honourable Congress of the United States of North America, and me, Jno. Baron

De Kalb, Major-General in the service of the States General.

Done double, at Paris, this 1st of December, 1776.

DE KALB.

SILAS DEANE,

Agent for the United States of North America.

Agreement with Augustin Francois des Epiniers.

1st. That Mr. Augustin Francois des Epiniers, nephew to Mr. , actually a Captain in the French service, shall pass over into that of the United Colonies, where he shall serve in the corps of Artillery and Engineers.

2d. That he shall be employed in that corps as Captain during the first campaign, with all appointments, &c., which a senior Captain in that corps enjoys, which commission he shall be entitled to from this date, and shall rise in proportion to his services to the degree of Major and Lieutenant-Colonel.

3d. That Mons. des Epiniers shall have this in particular and separate from all other officers of the same rank, that should peace be declared, the rank of Major shall not be refused him after two years' service; that of Lieutenant-Colonel after four years; and that of Colonel after six years; provided during that time he by his behaviour should not forfeit it, and this shall be tried by a regular procedure before the Board of War, or a Court-Martial assembled by their orders.

4th. After these six years' service in war or peace, if the Sr. des Epiniers thinks fit to leave the service of the United Colonies, he shall receive always the half of the salary he enjoyed as Lieutenant-Colonel, and this pension shall be paid him in whatever corner or part of the world he pleases to retire to.

5th. He shall receive the same pension if, by the fate of war or fatal wound, he shall find himself deprived of any principal limb of his body.

6th. The said conditions being granted to Mr. des

Epiniers in consideration of the important services, Mr. , his uncle, rendered one year, and continues to render, the United Colonies, no other officer can complain of these terms, either before Congress or the Board of War.

It is in confidence of this that the parties have mutually signed these presents, at Paris, December 5th, 1776. SILAS DEANE,

Agent for the United Colonies of North America.

A List of Officers of Infantry and Light Troops destined to serve in the Armies of the States General of North America, viz.:

		from
Messrs. Le M. De La Fayette,	Maj.-General,	7th Dec., 1776.
Le Baron De Kalb,	Major-General,	7th Nov. "
Delesser,	Colonel,	1st Dec. "
De Valfort,	Colonel,	1st Dec. "
De Fayols,	Lieut.-Colonel,	20th Nov. "
De Franval,	Lieut.-Colonel,	1st Dec. "
De Bois Martin,	Major,	7th Nov. "
De Gimet,	Major,	1st Dec. "
De Vrigny,	Captain,	1st Dec. "
De Bedaulx,	Captain,	1st Dec. "
Capitaine,	Captain,	1st Dec. "
De La Colombe,	Lieutenant,	1st Dec. "
Candon,	Lieutenant,	7th Nov. "

The mentioned ranks and the pay which the most honourable Congress shall affix to them, to commence at the periods marked in the present list, have been agreed to by us, the undersigned, Silas Deane, in quality of Deputy of the American States General, on the one part, the Marquis De La Fayette and the Baron De Kalb, on the other part.

Signed double, at Paris, this 7th of December, 1776.

SILAS DEANE,
LE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE,
DE KALB.

Force's American Archives, 5th Series, III., 1089, 1090.

From Robert Morris.

Phil., 6 Decem^r, 1776.

We have been much alarmed for some Days past for the safety of this City, & are not yet entirely relieved of our Apprehensions, on account of the unfortunate change in our Affairs. Since the Reduction of Fort Washington the Enemy landed a body of 8 to 10,000 Men in the Jerseys with a large Train of Artillery, & after forcing General Washington to evacuate Fort Lee, they have continued their March as far as New Brunswick in the Jerseys where they now are, & obliged General Washington to retreat before them to Princeton & Trenton; he is at the latter place with about 300 Men, Lord Sterling at the other with 1000 to 1500 Men, but if the Enemy come on they will be obliged to cross Delaware for Safety, as they are not a Force to make a Stand before the Enemy. In this Retreat we have lost many useful Stores, Provisions, & I fear Artillery, and you may suppose the Alarm & Confusion here as it was generally believed they intended for this City. Thus you have one Side of the Picture. I hope the other may be better. Our Associators had been much disgusted with their Service in the flying Camp & their Spirit had gone to Sleep. They were called upon but did not rouse till within these two Days, when they began to conceive their Danger was real, & they are now turning out with a Spirit becoming Free Men. This day & to morrow the whole Militia of this City & Suburbs march to join General Washington. The Country will follow the Example of the City. The Jerseys are in motion & General Lee has crossed the North River with a considerable Force and is on the march towards the Enemy, so that I expect they will now be driven into Winter Quarters; more, I do not promise myself at this Time, as their Artillery is extremely formidable & we have but little to oppose it. Our Affairs are

amazingly altered for the worse within a few Weeks; however, I hope the Exertions of Congress this Winter will put them in a respectable posture before the Spring.

I am in daily hopes of hearing from you by Captain Young. The Committee will not have time to write by this Conveyance.

I am, Dear Sir, with much Regard,
Your Friend & Servant,
ROBT. MORRIS.

Endorsed: "Extract of a letter from Robert Morris Esq., of Philadelphia, dated 6th Dec., 1776."

Thomas Mss.

AGREEMENT WITH GEN. LAFAYETTE.

Le desir que Monsieur le Marquis de Lafayette marque de Servir dans les troupes des Etats unis de L'Amerique Septentrionale, et l'interet qu'il prene a la justice de leur cause, luy faisant Souhaiter des occasīons de Se distinguer a la guerre, et de s'y rendre utile, autant qu'il Sera en luy; maīs ne pouvant Se flater d'obtenir l'agrément de Sa famīlle pour Servir en Pays étranger et passer les mers, qu'autant qu'il y irai comme Officier Général, J'ay crû ne pouvoīr mīeux Servir mon Pays et mes commettants qu'en luy accordant au nom du Tres honorable Congrés, le grade de Major général que je Supplie les états de luy confirmer, ratifier et en faire expedier la Commission pour tenir et prendre rang a compter de ce jour, avec les Officīers Généraux de meme grade. Sa haute naīssance, ses alliances, Les grandes dignites que Sa famille possede en cette Cour, Ses biens considérables en ce royaume, son mérite personnel, Sa réputation, Son desinteressement, et surtout son zéle pour la liberté de nos Provinces, m'ont seuls pū engager a luy faire la promesses dudit

grade de Major General, au nom desdit Etats unīs.

En foy de quoy j'ay Signé le present.

Fait a Parīs ce Sept Xbre mil Sept cent Soixante seīze.

SILAS DEANE.

Aux conditions cy dessus, je m'offre et promet de partīr quand et comme Monsieur Deane la jugera a propos, pour Servīr lesd. Etats avec tout le zele possible Sans aucune pension ny traitement particulier, me reservant Seulement la Líberté de revinir en Europe, Lorsque ma famīlle ou mon Roy me r'apelleront.

Fait a Parīs ce Sept Xbre, 1776.

LE M^A^ DE LAFAYETTE.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society..

TRANSLATION.

The desire manifested by the Marquis de Lafayette of serving in the Forces of the United States of North America and the interest which he takes in the justice of their cause have led him to desire opportunities of distinguishing himself in the war and of rendering such services as may be within his power. Since, however, he cannot expect to obtain the consent of his family to serve in a foreign country and to cross the sea, unless in the quality of a General Officer, I have concluded that I cannot better assist my country and those to whom I am responsible than by granting him, in the name of The Honorable Congress, the grade of Major General, which commission I beg the States to confirm, ratify and bestow upon him to hold and to rank from this day forward with the General Officers of the same grade.

His noble lineage, his connections, the high dignities exercised by his family at this Court, his ample possessions in this Kingdom, his personal worth, his celebrity, his disinterestedness, and above all his zeal for the liberty of our Colonies have alone influenced

me in promising to him in the name of the United States, the aforesaid rank of Major General.

In witness whereof, I have signed these presents.

Done at Paris, this seventh of December, One thousand, Seven hundred and seventy-six.

SILAS DEANE.

Upon the above conditions I stand ready and promise to depart, at such time and in such manner as M^r^ Deane shall judge advisable, to serve the aforesaid States without any allowance or special pay, reserving only the freedom of returning to Europe, when my family or my King shall recall me.

Done at Paris, this seventh of December, 1776.

THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

FROM BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Nantes, Dec. 7, 1776.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I wrote a Line to you on Wednesday last from Auray, where I landed out of the Ship of War that brought [me over], acquainting you of my arrival and with our appointment (jointly with Mr. Arthur Lee) to negotiate a Treaty of Commerce and Friendship with the Court of France, for which I have with me ample Instructions. I have acquainted no one here with this Commission, continuing incog. as to any public Character, because, not being sufficiently acquainted with the Disposition and present Circumstances of this Court relative to our contest with G. B., I cannot judge whether it would be agreeable to her at this time to receive publicly Ministers from the Congress as such, and I think we should not embarrass her unnecessarily on the one hand nor subject ourselves to the Hazard of a disgraceful Refusal on the other.

I therefore send you herewith a Copy of our Commission that you may have time to consider and advise upon it before my Arrival at Paris, for which Place

I shall set out as soon as I can, being obliged to wait here a little for my Baggage which continues on board the Ship and the Wind has not yet been favorable to bring her from Quiberon Bay into this River.

We are impowered by a Vote of Congress to live in such a Stile in Paris as we shall find proper. A Cargo, supposed to the Value of 3000£ Sterling, brought in the ship with me is to be sold by our Merchants here and the Produce is to be subject to the Drafts of the Commissioners toward their Expences. And the Committee have orders to add to that Fund, till they make it up 10,000£. *I requested you to provide me a Lodging. If in the same hotel with you, it will be the more agreeable.* I have with me two Grandsons: one about sixteen, who will serve me as a private Secretary; the other a Child of seven, whom I purpose to place in some Boarding School, that he may early learn the French Language. One Bed in the mean time may serve them both; but I must have them in the same Lodging with me until I can place the young one.

M. Penet talks of accompanying me to Paris. I suppose we may set out about the Middle of next Week, but cannot be certain, because it depends on my receiving my Baggage, and this depends on the Winds. In the meantime, it would be a vast Satisfaction to me to hear from you, or meet you, but I do not see how it can be managed. I recommend to your Care the Informing M^r^. Lee of his Appointment, by Writing to him and conveying to him the Letters sent herewith, in the safest Way you can find. If thro' the Hands of the French Amb^r^. at London, it will be best perhaps to write only, keeping his Letters until he comes to Paris, for I know not what the sealed one contains, and there is a Risque of its being intercepted.

Hoping soon for the great Pleasure of finding you well at Paris, I am with sincere Esteem, Dear Sir,

Your most obe^d^, Humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

Hon^ble^ Silas Deane, Esq.

Deane Papers, Treasury Department.

To Messrs. Delap.

Paris, December 7th 1776.

Dr Sir,—Your favor of the 29th ultº recommending Mr. Baptiste is before me, & in answer can only say that I have had such a number of applications that I have been well-nigh distracted with them; if this Gentleman can have a passage in McCrery's Brigª he can take his Certificates with him, & Letters of recommendation from some Officer of Distinction, which will undoubtedly procure him the rank he sollicits for, but I cannot promise him, as I have already engaged as many as I have any power for, or even more, but I inclose a Letter for him to the Commᵉ at Philadelphia which you will explain to him and if he inclines to go out, you will seal & forward it to him. I am Dr Sir,

Your much Obliged Friend,
& very Humˡᵉ Servᵗ
Silas Deane.

Messrs Samˡ & J. H. Delaps.

Thomas Mss.

To Count de Vergennes.

Paris, Dec. 8, 1776.

Sir,—I received last evening a letter from my friend Dr. Franklin at Nantes, which place he was to leave last Sunday morning, so that I expect him in Paris this day or early tomorrow. Meantime I have and shall carefully attend to the hint given me, and am confident he will do the same.

His arrival is the common topick of conversation, and has given birth to a thousand conjectures and reports, not one of which I have given ground for, having constantly declared that I am ignorant of the motives of his voyage or his business.

I have the honor to be, &c.,
Silas Deane.

To the Count de Vergennes.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I., 100.

From Edward Bancroft.

Dear Sir,—Having been disappointed in every other mode of sending to you, M^r^ Myland, whose Brother is either Adjutant or Quarter Master General to the Continental Army, has, at the desire of M^r^ Wharton, kindly engaged to convey & deliver to you the Box from Sir J. J., with a Packet containing several numbers of the Parliamentary Register, & of the Remembrancer, together with a Journal of the South Carolina Congress, & also two of Gov^r^ Pownal's Mapps & Description of America, for which you formerly wrote, & also a Packet of Letters. I have examined the American Atlas & find it but a very Partial Collection. There is, however, a much better one which extends to all the known Parts of America, sold by Jeffries & Faden at the Price of about 4 Guineas, & I beg to be informed which of these you would prefer, & I will send it as soon as possible. The American Atlas will cost about 2 Guineas & an half.

The Remembrancer, which I now send, & particularly the last number, will afford you much information respecting America.

I have written you twice every week since my return, but have had none of y^r^ fav^rs^ since that of the 28^th^ ult^o^. I shall, however, write you again this Evening. I have seen the Bearer, M^r^ Myland, only once; and he appears very desirous of charging himself with the parcels now sent, or any thing else that might be serviceable to you; & I flatter myself that any civilities which you may shew him will not be improperly bestowed. The two Letters to Thomas Wharton are written by his Brother Joseph Wharton on his own Private affairs, & he wishes you to be kind enough to forward them (one being a duplicate), by different Vessels. You are at Liberty to open them if you think proper.

I write this scrawl in haste & in a very Public

Place, but shall again pay my respects to you this Evening by the Post.

I am, Dear Sir,
Your most respectful
& most Devoted H'mble Servt,
E. B.

London,
Decr 10th, 1776.

To S. Deane, Esq.,
Hotel d'Entragues, rue de L'Universite,
Paris.

Endorsed, Mr de Beaumarchais, vielle rue du temple au marais, entre la rue des Blancs manteaux, et la rue St Croix de la Bretonnerie.

Thomas Mss.

To Conrad A. Gerard.

Sir,—The Letter of the 9th, which I received, I take to be from Mons. Gerard, tho' it is not signed, in answer. It is true that my Friend, Doctor Franklin, is arrived at Nantz. I have Letters from him, & expect him at Paris, but believe me, Sir, his particular Business I am a stranger to as yet, and he keeps him self incog: as farr as possible. Yet, every One knowing his General Character, & hearing of his Arrival, is forming Conjectures and Reporting them, which I pray neither he nor I may be Accountable for, as I know nothing of, nor can I controll the indiscretion of individuals. Not a Man in Nantes that has a Correspondent in Paris, but has wrote to him of the Doctrs Arrival, and formed Conjectures of his Business, though at the same time he assures Me he shall remain Incog: untill I see him; yet these men who receive these Letters are officiously shewing them every where, and some are impertinent enough to shew them [to] Me as News of great importance. I pray

you to explain this to his Excellency the *Compte De Vergennes*, untill I can have the honor of waiting on him in person. I have the Satisfaction of being, most Respectfully,

Your most Obed^{t} Hum^{e} Serv^{t},

S. DEANE.

Paris, Dec^{r} 11th, 1776.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 601.

TO COUNT DE VERGENNES.

Paris, December 11th, 1776.

SIR,—I received a letter this day, dated Versailles the 9th inst. which, concluding it was from Mons. Gerard, I replied to in haste, and addressed myself to him, at the same time praying him to acquaint your Excellency with the Contents. The arrival of Doct^{r} Franklin being universally known, and the purpose of his Business as universally conjectured, though variously—& if any one conjecture is right, I declare to your Excellency I have not at present the means of knowing—I have taken the liberty to suggest to your Excellency, that the various reports given out, and which may, some of them, reach you, are merely conjectural, as the Doct^{r} wrote me he had kept himself incog. at Nants, as to his Business, and I assure you he wrote me only generally. Meantime, the arrival of a person so universally known in Europe, as well as in America, by reputation, and so deeply conversant & interested in the American dispute, must occasion much speculation; and, as I apprehended, from the letter I received, that some indiscretion was feared on our part on this occasion, I must assure your Excellency that I never mentioned his arrival to his most intimate friends until the intelligence was in every corner of the City, & persons came to me with letters from their friends in Nantes, supposing they bro't me important news, since which I have owned, when asked, that he was at

Nantes, & that I expected him here soon; but declared (as I could not, had I been disposed, have done otherwise, consistent with that regard for veracity I must ever retain), that I knew not his business.

The Doctor's years, as well as his superior discretion, will lead him, I am confident, to act the same part; but your Excellency must not be surprised at a variety of Reports and conjectures on a subject which alone surprisingly engages the attention of every one, and gives me, as an American & Citizen of the world, the most sincere pleasure in finding with what disinterested Generosity the gallant subjects of this Kingdom appear interested in whatever affects the great cause of justice & humanity; nor can I but hail the omen for good to those for whom I am immediately interested more particularly, and to both countries in General. I dare most assuredly answer for my venerable compatriots and myself, that any direction of yours will be a law to us in our proceedings, and that every thing of a private nature will be kept entirely to ourselves until communicated first to your Excellency.

Lee Papers, Harvard University.

To the Secret Committee of Congress.

Paris, 12th December, 1776.

Gentlemen,—Just as I had closed my despatches by the Generals du Coudray and Baron de Kalb, I was most agreeably surprised with a letter from Dr. Franklin, at Nantes, where he arrived, after thirty days passage, with two prizes. I hourly expect him here, but knowing of his arrival, I despatch this with a duplicate to Havre de Grace, to go by the ships sailing thence, and have only time to inform you, that I sent an express instantly to Mr. Lee to join us here without delay, for the news of Dr. Franklin's arrival

may occasion his friends being forbid coming from London to France. Nothing has, for a long time, occasioned greater speculation than this event, and our friends here are elated beyond measure, as this confirms them you will not negotiate with England; and for me, I will not attempt to express the pleasure I feel on this occasion, as it removes at once difficulties under which I have been constantly in danger of sinking. I may not add, as I shall miss the boat, but am, with the most grateful and respectful compliments to the Congress, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

P. S. The King of Portugal is dead. The Comte Grimaldi, Prime Minister of Spain, has resigned, which will tend to accelerate a rupture in Europe, which I think unavoidable.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I., 100.

TO CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

Paris, Dec^r. 12^th, 1776.

SIR,—This under Cover to M^r. Eyries will inform you of the Arrival of Doc^r. Franklin at Nantes with a Commission from Congress appointing him, M^r. Arthur Lee & myself joint Comm^rs to the Court of France. The Doctor left America about the beginning of Nov^r. but I do not learn that anything of importance had happened since the affair of Long Island &c., the news of which we have already had an acc^t. of. I expect him every Day at Paris & hope I shall soon have the pleasure to introduce you to him. [I hope you have] returned successful from your important expedition; the safe arrival of the Shipps with the Stores will be of the utmost Consequence to America in the present situation of their Army, which is literally in want of everything, except a determined Resolution to defend their Liberties to the last Extremity. I

have only to add that I have the honor to be with the most sincere Respect & Attachment,

Sir, Yours &c.,

S. DEANE.

M^r^ Beaumarchais,
Havre.

Thomas Mss.

TO CHARLES W. F. DUMAS.

Paris, December 13th, 1776.

DEAR SIR,—I am indebted for two letters, and the same cause of my neglect, viz., an hurry of business, still subsisting, I cannot make amends by a long letter in this, but the substance will be agreeable, which is, that Dr. Franklin is arrived at Nantz, and I expect him in Paris to-morrow.

He left Philadelphia the last of October, and everything was favorable in America. On his passage the ship he was in made two prizes on this coast. I received a letter from my venerable friend on his landing, who was in high spirits and good health. Here is the hero, and philosopher, and patriot, all united in this celebrated American, who, at the age of seventy-four, risks all dangers for his country. I know your heart rejoices with me on the occasion.

I am, with respect to your spouse,
Dear Sir, Your much obliged and
Very humble Servant,
S. DEANE.

The Port Folio, III., 294, *Sept.* 10, 1803.

TO ROBERT MORRIS.

Paris, Dec. 13, 1776.

DEAR SIR,—I have with inexpressable pleasure rec^d^ a letter from Doc^t^ Franklin at Nantz and expect him here tomorrow. I sent one express to London for

Mr Lee and your Bror instantly to meet us here. Among other things I wrote to you for a Phaeton and pr. of Bay Horses which may appear odd, yet I repeat my desire with this circumstance that if I do not dispose of them to the acceptance of Congress, I will take them on my own cost.* I wish them sent in the ships in which Gen. Du Coudray comes out, in which I have prayed Mrs. Deane and my little son to come out to me and commend them to you to make for them a decent and necessary provision. Education is both cheap and good here, and a man may live more to his mind in the family way and at less expense than in my necessary way of living at present. If I can serve you or your friends on Occasion it will give me great pleasure. You may rely on the Indian contract being completed in a month; and I pray you hasten remittances, for I have expended part of the funds sent me in my support in fitting out Captain Morgan in forty tonns of Salt Petre for which ballast I procured a great bargain viz: 10 sous pr. lb. or 5d sterling. I have also sent two hundred thousand wt. of powder to Martinico for the Congress and insured it there for 2 pr. ct. It cost me 18 sous or 9d pr lb., a price that the goods cannot be had at at present by more than 20 pr. ct.

For the powder I am indebted, as I deferred touching the funds in Mr. Delap's hands, unless necessitated, for anything but its original purpose. Our credit has within these few weeks mended and I shall be able to procure the goods wanted, partly for cash and partly for bills on the Committee as Commissioner of Congress.

I find that in a few weeks I shall set many important adventures in the mercantile way going, and you will in the Spring, I hope, be well supplied with everything. To have goods here for drawing bills on America, payable in your produce there, is certainly

* The intended disposition was to present them to Marie Antoinette.

worth laboring for and even spending some time to obtain.

It is now in a good way and one house has agreed to accept my bills to the Amt of 30 Thousand pounds on America. If the Congress would insure vessels going out at 20 per cent. or under, many merchants would adventure. I wish your thoughts on this; and with compliments to Mrs. Morris,

I remain Dr. Sr., your much obliged and very humble Servt.,

SILAS DEANE.

To Robert Morris.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

To MESSRS. DELAP.

Paris, Decr. 14, 1776.

DEAR SR,—The last of your Esteemed favors came to hand was of the 30 ultº. The last of my replys ye 9 inst., & since wch I have had ye pleasure of receiving a Letter from my great & Venerable Friend, Doctr Franklin, at Nantz whence I expect him in town this day. I can say nothing of the purport of his Errand particularly, but as I have been for some time laboring to set on foot a large and beneficial Commercial plan, in which the principal Houses in France & Holland, would be included, I can say his arrival will enable me to Compleat it soon, and for that Reason, I most ardently urge you coming up to Paris, if to spend but a Week or Ten Days. Mr. Beaumarchais, from his present great Interest & influence with certain Persons, will have a very Capital Influence in these affairs, and he has had many applications from Bordeaux, from Houses there, on the subject, but as the ultimate controll very much rests with me, & will rest with my Colleague, Doctr Franklin, & myself, no proposals will be listened to untill you have the refusal of being concerned; this renders your presence here particularly necessary, tho' for ever so short a

time; besides as our Connections may now, on my part, go under another stile, I wish to have a general stating, & settlement of our Accompts up to this time, which will prevent any future Confusion in them. I have Letters from Mr Morriss by which he informs me that he was preparing to shipp out the Tobacco as soon as the season would render it any way safe. I send you the first set of Bills drawn according to our agreement mentioned in my last, which if you can come here I only wish you to accept and bring with you, as I may renew or perhaps otherways Negotiate them, whilst you are here; but if you cannot come write me, & send them up, & in case Effects do not arrive by the time I shall renew them, & it is probable I may chose to renew them if they should, as I must exert every nerve to send out large supplies, between this and the first of April. The engaging of Military Stores, &c., has taken all my time & attention for some Months; I have now nearly Compleated those to a very large amount, and must now attend to other articles. Mr Thomas Morriss will be here next Week; he has a Concern in very large affairs from America, & it would be very proper you could see him here, where my Friend just from America, & myself could assist in digesting & arranging his affair, a considerable part of which may turn very advantageously in your way. For these reasons I presume you will judge the object sufficiently important to induce you to make the Journey. I mention Doctr Franklin as my Colleague as We were members of Congress together, & have now a Concern in the Direction of the American Commerce—but your prudence will direct you not to say any thing on this subject to other persons.

I am with Compliments to your Sister,
Dear Sr your most Obedt and Very
Humble Servt.,
S. Deane.

P. S. Capt Palmer arrived safe, but threw over his

papers in a Chace; pray is Higgenson from Bilboa taken? am^{t} of Bills, 180,000£, from 3000 to 6500, & one of 9000£.

To S. & J. H. Delap.

Thomas Mss.

From Caron de Beaumarchais.

Paris, ce 17 X^{bre}, 1776.

Me voici de retour de Havre, Monsieur, ou j'ai bu jusqu'a la lie la calice de ma mission. Tout ce que nous avons pu faire a été de mettre l'Amphitrite a la mer avant que l'embargo du ministre arrivat. Encore je fait travailler plus de cent hommes pendant deux nuits et les trois quarts des aprovisionnements ont été portés en rade dans des caiques. C'etait un désordre affreux. Ce qui etait destiné pour un vaisseau a été fouré dans l'autre, et parti de ce qui etait destiné pour celui ci est restée pour celui la, parceque les effets etaient disposés dans un ordre et un eloignement des différens bords que la précipitation ne nous a pas permis de suivre. Enfin l'Amphitrite est au moins sauvé. Les deux autres sont arrétés et vont etre dechargé publiquement, malgré mes peines et efforts. Je vous dirai cependant que l'affectation de rigueur et de publicité qu'on met a ces désarmemens, me laisse un peu d'espoir de pouvoir rechargé et partir quand les cris seront appaisés par notre proscription publique. Je vais commencez par faire changer les noms des vaisseaux. Le reste se fera la nuit et a petit bruit. Mais que de pertes, que d'argent jeté dans l'eau! Chaque sotise, chaque obstacle se leve a grand coupes de louis d'or: J'en serais bien honteux, si je ne savais que tout cela est indispensable.

J'ai recu votre lettre par M. Eries. Vous m'avés appris une nouvelle qui m'interesse infiniment et l'arrivée de Monsieur Franklin, qui est très estimé dans ce pays ne peut que faire grand bien aux affaires de l'Amerique.

Je vous prie de me dire franchement si la réunion de plusieurs agens, change le pouvoirs du premier et si je devrai recommencer avec les nouvelles Commissaires ce que j'ai arreté avec vous? Ayés la bonté de prévenir a son arrivée Monsieur Franklin de mon caractère et de mes operations. Soit que je doive traiter de nouveau sur mes envois, soit que votre mission reste intacte et vous soit continué, il convient qu'il sache avec quel zéle je sera son parti. S'il est l'homme que je suppose, c'est de moi qu'il recevra les 1ers et les plus surs renseignements sur sa conduite politique. Je ne suis qu'un particulier, mais personne ne connait mieux que moi le terrain vacillant sur lequel nous marchons, vous et moi.

On dit que Monsieur Franklin a fait un ou deux prises. Apporte-t-il ou des fonds ou des esperances de moyens futurs? Cela va devinir bien essentiel a la continuation de nos envois.

Il eut peutetre mieux valu que j'eusse reçu un jour plus tard la nouvelle de l'arrivée de Monsieur Franklin. Monsieur Du Coudray qui la sue en l'embarquant m'en paru inquiet. Peutetre eut il desiré que son sort fut confirmé par ce nouvel agent, mais je l'ai rassuré. Comment serait il mal reçu en abordant avec de tels secours?

Je vous salue, vous honor et vous aime.

CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

M. Silas Deane.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

TRANSLATION.

Paris, 17th December, 1776.

Behold me, Sir, returned from Havre, where I have drained to the dregs the cup of duty. All that we could accomplish was to get the Amphitrite to sea before the embargo of the Mimistry arrived. A second time I employed more than a hundred men, working throughout two nights, and three fourths of the goods

were carried to the bay in lighters, amid the wildest confusion. What was intended for one ship was crowded into another, and what was invoiced for shipment in this one has been left behind, because, in our precipitation we could not follow the disposition of the freight in order at different points on the shore.

At any rate the Amphitrite is safe. The other two are under arrest, and are to be unloaded publicly, after all my trouble and exertions.

I may, nevertheless, tell you that in spite of all the ostentatious severity and publicity attending the unloading I have hopes of reloading and getting them away when the clamor shall have ceased.

I am about to begin by changing the names of the ships, and the rest will be done noiselessly and in the night time.

But to think of the loss and the money thrown away! Every blunder and every obstacle to be overcome by the lavish use of louis d'or. I would, indeed, be ashamed did I not know this to be unavoidable.

I have your letter by the hand of M^r. Eries. The news you give me is of the greatest interest, and the arrival of D^r. Franklin—who is highly esteemed in this country—cannot fail to advance the cause of America I beg that you will frankly tell me whether the reunion of the several agents changes the powers of the first one, and whether I ought to recommence with the new Commissioners what has already been decided upon with you.

Have the kindness to inform D^r Franklin on his arrival, of my character and my operations.

Whether I ought to begin again on the subject of what is to be sent or whether your authority is unimpaired, if he is the man I presume him to be, he will receive from me the first and most reliable suggestions as to his official conduct. I am but a private individual, yet no one understands better the dangerous ground that you and I are treading.

It is said that Mr. Franklin has taken one or two prizes. Has he brought any funds with him, or the prospect of remittances? This matter becomes very essential, if our consignments are to continue.

It might perhaps have been better had I heard the news of Dr. Franklin's arrival a day later. Mr. du Coudray, who knew it when he embarked, seemed to be anxious.

Possibly he wished that his status had been confirmed by the newly arrived agent, but I reassured him. How can he be ill received, coming with such aids?

I salute, honor, and love you.

CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

M. Silas Deane.

FROM BARON DE KALB.

Translation.

Havre, 17th December, 1776.

I hope that you have received my letters of the 12th, and 13th, and 14th December, which I had the honor to address to you, as I have this, under cover to Messrs. German and Giradot.

There arrived here to night a courier from the Court with orders to delay the departure of the Amphitrite: I am very glad that he arrived too late, but I fear lest this may prove a hindrance to the departure of the second vessel and, consequently, to my own departure, and that of the officers.

I shall be much obliged if you will present my respects to Dr. Franklin. I submit to his judgment and yours the Memoire hereto annexed, containing my opinion upon what I hinted to you one day at Paris.

A French vessel which arrived yesterday from Lisbon, has reported that an English frigate has taken in these waters an American vessel of 350 tons, laden with indigo, &c., bound, as is believed, for Bourdeaux

or Havre. This prize was taken to Lisbon, and two persons of position who were on board, have been sent to Falmouth by the packet. I am, &c.

DE KALB.

[ENCLOSURE.]

Translation.

Project—the execution of which would perhaps decide the Success of the cause of the Liberty of the United States of North America, without the Court of France appearing, for the present, to have the slightest part in it.

In likening the United States to the States of Holland, when they were yet groaning under the repeated acts of tyranny of their sovereigns, I think that the same conduct which was so advantageous to the republican establishment of the Low Countries would produce the same effect in the present case.

The beginning of the revolution in North America is a most important and a most interesting event for the majority of the European powers ; and, especially for France, who would willingly take the measures fitted to bring about a formal separation between the Colonies and England, if it could be done without declaring war against Great Britain if that were not absolutely necessary.

This is to be presumed from the permissions privately given by the Government to a number of distinguished officers of different ranks, to enter the service of the Americans and to buy provisions in this kingdom for transport in French vessels. But to return to my plan, I say that it would be necessary to those, as yet, infant states to supply them with some foreign troops and especially a leader of great European reputation, whose military capacity may place him in a position to be opposed at the head of an army to Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick or the King of Prussia himself ; who, uniting a name rendered il-

lustrious by many heroes of his family, with a great experience in war, and all qualities requisite for conducting such an undertaking with prudence, integrity and economy, under the authority of the States, considered as legitimate and sovereign powers.

The United Colonies are able to put under arms perhaps a hundred thousand brave men, for the most part interested in the defence of a just cause, their freedom and their possessions.

But numerous armies and courage, are not sufficient to win success if they are not sustained by skill and experience. (In speaking thus I have no intention to depreciate the glory, the leadership and the deeds of the officers who command at present; on the contrary, I think that they have acted very well and bravely, especially General Washington, on all occasions; but my scheme is only to have a man whose name and reputation alone, might discourage the enemy.)

It appears to me that my reflections upon the advantage which would result to the United States from their connection with France, have been foreseen, at least in part, by Congress, since it has sent hither one of its most capable members to obtain officers, munitions, &c.

All that has been done up to this time, has become public before its execution, by passing through the hands of several persons, not only indiscreet but unskilful, whom only necessity and the force of circumstances could have caused to be chosen.

Amongst the officers who engage for the cause and defence of freedom, men of merit form the minority, noble lords and other patrons not being always so candid as to recommend only brave and capable subjects; so that the majority of those officers are perhaps very mediocre as regards conduct, talents, wit, morals and experience, and only change climate for motives of interest or to get rid of their creditors.

All these inconveniences would no longer occur if

the States might choose a leader, such as I suggest, with power himself to choose the officers and assistants whom he should judge necessary. He would certainly choose the best of every kind: (for no one in the kingdom better knows all the military than he,—I mean this general in chief). He would be capable, I say, of obtaining the best officers and of placing each individual in the position suited to him, for his own reputation, which would appear to be so intimately connected with the success of the United Provinces: he alone would ask of the ministers their approval, and all the necessaries for the enterprise; none but himself would be in the secret, and I am sure that he is so universally esteemed for his position, integrity and capacity as a general, that without knowing where or how they were going, every one would follow him and leave him master of the conditions. Many young noblemen would follow him as volunteers, only for the sake of serving and distinguishing themselves under his eyes. That nobility, by its interest at Court, by its own credit or the management of its friends and kinsmen could decide the King in favour of a war with England.

The general would be in a position to obtain at the outset, for money or bills, and perhaps even, as assistance rendered by one allied power to another, everything which the United States should require.

He would succeed in doing this better than any other minister, the whole French nation would be interested in the quarrel, and the King might be persuaded to declare himself openly. The result would be a treaty of alliance, commerce and navigation at the end, or before the end, of the war.

He would thus see himself obliged to push on with the war for his own honour and that of his country, and, consequently, to the advantage of the States, because he ought to regard the loss of his reputation as the greatest of all losses, and the honour of being the chief instrument in the defence and restoration of the

freedom of a commonwealth as the most flattering of all honours.

Such a man with assistants of his own choice, would alone be worth twenty thousand men and would double the value of the American troops.

Such a change in the Army would, doubtless, encourage friends and produce an opposite effect upon the enemy.

All the military expenses would be administered by his intelligence and integrity to the greatest advantage of the States. There would be under his administration, neither knavery nor misappropriation of money, and he himself would render his accounts at the first demand to the supreme legislature of the States.

This man may be found, and I think that I have found him, and I am sure that once he is known he will unite the suffrages of the public, of all sensible men, of all military men, and, I venture to say, of all Europe.

The question is to obtain his acceptance, which, as I think, can only be accomplished by loading him with enough honours to satisfy his ambition as by naming him field-marshal generalissimo, and giving him a considerable sum of ready money for his numerous children, the care of whom he would have to forego for some time during his sojourn beyond the seas, to be an equivalent to them in case of the loss of their father, and by giving him all the powers necessary for the good of the service.

I will answer in advance the objections which might be made to my project because they naturally occur to the mind of a free people; namely, that such a man invested with such an extensive power in the army, having the chief officers at his devotion, could not only trample under foot the liberties of the country he was charged to defend, but even make himself its master and tyrant.

First, I shall reply that his power, however extensive it might be, would always be subordinate to the

States; that no commander, officer or soldier, would be subject to him except as regards military movements and the real service of the country; that, besides, it is not probable that any American subject would lend himself to so illegal an enterprise.

Second, I am sure, and would wager my head that such a thought will never enter his noble and generous heart.

Third, he has a vested property in his own country, honours, and a family held in such respect, and to which he is so tenderly attached, that for all the sovereignties of the world, he would never part from them, especially as he is on the point of being created marshal of France.

Fourth, in order to ensure his return and his residence in Europe in a more precise manner, the States could make one of the capital points of their treaties or dealings with the Court of Versailles, the elevation of their generalissimo to the dignity of Duke and Peer of France.

These ideas are suggested to me by zeal for the cause which I have embraced. I leave to Messrs. Franklin and Deane to extend them, to change them, or to carry them out. The only thing which I ask of them is to make no mention of my proposition to any living soul, because of the secrecy which is absolutely necessary whether the project be accepted or whether it be rejected. I repeat once more—the choice of the person when I shall name him will be agreeable and generally applauded.

DE KALB.

Stevens's Facsimiles, Nos. 603, 604.

FROM BARON DE KALB.

Translation.

Havre, 18th December, 1776.

I have received by M. Limozin the two letters with which you have honored me, the 14th and the 16th.

I sent you in my last, news of the departure of the Amphitrite on Saturday, the 14th, at midday. She might have left sooner if M. Du Coudray had not had many letters to write, which detained him from 10 o'clock at night, when he went on board, and made her lose several hours favorable wind. As nothing has been heard of her since, it is to be hoped that she has got out of the Channel. It is very lucky that she has left, for two days later she could not have done so, an order of the Court having arrived on Monday, at 10 o'clock at night, to detain her until further orders; but she was under weigh.

The Romain is detained by the same order, and if M. Beaumarchais does not have it revoked, we may yet stay a long time here. I suppose that M. Monthieu will propose to you, in case these difficulties should continue, to charter here, for 8 or 10 louis, a bark to take to Nantes the officers who are waiting in order to embark them in the vessel which is there ready, and which cannot be subject to the same countermand, having no artillery on board, which could prevent its departure. If you order me to embark at Nantes, I will forward my baggage, and will proceed thither post by way of Paris; but just as you please.

M. Bedaulx, impatient to see Dr. Franklin and seeing the delay of the expedition here, has gone to Paris, for some days. I am very glad of it; you better than any one will clear up the suspicions which some malicious persons have raised against him. I think that he has been slandered, for I have here followed his conversations and connections, and have found nothing in his conduct which does not prove that he is a warm friend of America. Therefore I think that it would be most unjust to ask for the private order which M. de Beaumarchais proposes to obtain for the Navy Commissioners of this port to oppose the departure of M. Bedaulx.

I believe that M. de Beaumarchais' journey hither has been useless, and that it has done more harm than

good. He is known to many people, and he made himself known to the whole town by the representation of his comedies, making the actors rehearse, in order that they might play the better. All this rendered the precaution he had taken to hide himself under the name of Durant useless.

I was not able to impart to M. Du Coudray the unfavorable opinion which has been conveyed to you of the muskets, because he had left. But if it is well founded, as I fear it is, it should prove a monstrous rascality on the part of some one, or perhaps of several persons. It is to be feared, also, that some of the carriages of the train of artillery are not with the freight.

M. Monthieu has agreed with me, or rather he has avowed to me, that the shovels and other implements of that kind are not worth the freight. He says so perhaps because it was not he who supplied them, for I have not seen any of them. I only see much jealousy on all sides.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No 605.

From Benjamin Franklin.

Versailles,
Friday, Dec. 20, 1776,
4 P.M., a la belle Image.

Finding myself too much fatigued to proceed to Paris this Evening, *and not knowing whether you have receiv'd my Letter wherein I requested you to provide me a Lodging*, I have concluded to remain here to-night. If you are in Paris, I hope to hear from you to-morrow Morning before I set out, which will hardly be till about Noon. With the sincerest Esteem, I have the Hon^{r}. to be,

Dear Sir,
Your most obed^{t}.
humble Servant,
B. Franklin.

Hon^{ble} Silas Deane, Esq^{r}.

Deane Papers, Treasury Department.

From the Messrs. Delap.

Bordeaux, 31st Decr., 1776.

Dr Sr,—Time only permits us to advise you we have just receiv'd a Letter from A. Nesbitt, Esqr., of London, returning us protested for N. A.

David Whites bill of 20th April, at 30 Days sight on Wm. Hawker, of Somersetshire, for £1200 Sterl'g

570.9 do. Ringgold & Hammerly bill, of 8th Novr., 1775, at 30 ds. on Sargents, Chambers & Co,

1000. do. W. Cargt. Livingston's bill, of 28th May, at 30 Ds. St. on S. Baker.

£2770.9 Sterl'g, so that all the last remitts. made us by Messrs. L. L. & A. & Messrs. W. M. & Co. has been protested except two Bills, making together 230£ Sterl'g. Messrs. L. L. & A. since remitted us for y/a., £800 St'g. In D. Stringers bill of 20th Augst, at 30 ds. St., on Ford, Curtoys & Co., of Barcelona, which is likewise returned to us protested for N. P. We are sorry for all these disappointments, but in the present situation of affairs we look upon Bills as no remittance, for scarce one in Ten of them is paid. The Bills you forwarded us for acceptance lie by us till funds arrive, or if you think proper we shall return them to you. Wishing you the Compts. of the season,

We remain always very sincerely

Dr. Sr. your assured & Obedt. Servts.,

S. & J. H. Delap.

Thomas Mss.

Memoir of Silas Deane

To induce France to engage in a War with Great Britain.

[December 31, 1776.]

Memoir.

The British Government, unprovoked and uninjured, has made open Warr, against the united Amer-

ican Colonies, and in prosecuting this Warr has violated every principle of humanity and Justice. It has meanly exerted its utmost influence with every State in Europe to deprive the Colonists of Arms & Ammunition for their defence, & at the same Time has basely represented those very Colonists as the most abject Cowards. Not Content with employing the National Force of Great Brittain against them, it has hired near Twenty-four Thousand German Troops to assist in their Subjugation, & has, moreover, inhumanly endeavored to incite the savages of America to commit the most barbarous Acts of Hostility upon the Inhabitants of these Colonies, & has openly proclaimed an offer of Freedom and Reward to such of their Slaves as may revolt and take Arms against them. The Orders given to the British Commanders in America have also been of the most cruel & barbarous nature, judging (as it must be allowable to do) of these Orders, by the Acts they have produced, many of which have been highly disgraceful & inhuman, particularly those by which Our defenceless, unoffending Towns have been wantonly destroyed, only for the sake of destruction. By these & many similar Causes the affections of the People of America are now irrecoverably alienated from Great Brittain, & such various and insuperable Obstacles to a reconciliation have arisen, that the Colonies have not only resolved to reject forever the Sovereignty of the British Crown, but before This Time must have declared themselves an independant People. This proceeding, though it may displease and ruin Great Brittain, cannot fail of being desirable and beneficial to the other Powers of Europe, & particularly to France, whose natural Enemy and Rival she has constantly been. On this Event France will naturally have a preference in the Trade of the United Colonies, as being of all other Nations the best able to supply their commercial wants, and to afford them a Market for their Corn, Tobacco, Raw Materials, &c., &c. Such an intercourse between them

would occasion Great Brittain the entire Loss of more than one third of all her Trade, and this Loss will benefit France in a double ratio, as it must positively diminish the power of Great Brittain, & positively increase that of France.

With whatever European States the Trade of the United Colonies may be carried on, it must of Necessity prove highly beneficial & advantageous to them, as this Commerce will consist principally of an exchange of the most Valuable raw or unmanufactured Commodities, for those which are already manufactured. The Colonies, therefore, in offering their Commerce to France, do really offer her that from which the Wealth of Great Brittain has been principally derived, and which will afford every benefit that could result even from the Sovereignty of those Colonies, without any of the Burthens necessarily attending Sovereignty. No power in Europe can have ought to apprehend from the independancy of the Colonies. In Conjunction with Great Brittain they would enable her to conquer the possessions of other States in America, but separated from her, both interest and Inclination will lead them to observe a just and peaceable conduct toward the rest of the World for many, very many ages to come; happy in having been able to secure and enjoy their own Rights, they will not think of invading those of other People, and from their Local situation, the Circumstances by which they are surrounded, their habits, Interests, & Dispositions, & above all from the immense extent of uncultivated Territory which they possess, their attention must for a Multitude of Years necessarily be fixed upon Agriculture, the most natural, beneficial and inoffensive of all human Employments. By this they will constantly produce abundant Quantities of those productions & Materials which are suited for European Consumption and European Manufactures. And to obtain suitable markets for these articles, as well as suitable supplies of European Manufactures & Commodities for their

own Wants, it must ever be their Interest to pursue an inviolable Peace with the States of Europe, more especially with France; they can therefore never resolve, even were they to become sufficiently powerful, to embroil themselves with those European States who have possessions in America, by attempting the Conquest of such possessions. They are indeed strongly prejudiced against all Tropical Establishments; They formerly resisted the most earnest Sollicitations of Cromwell to transplant themselves to Jamaica, & from that time, though the Natives of the United Colonies have visited the West Indies for purposes of Commerce, scarce one of them has ever been induced by any Views of Interest to settle himself there, and indeed if the United Colonies are permitted to furnish the West India Settlements with those Commodities which are now supplied by them and which never can be so advantageously from any other hands, this must be all which they can ever desire from the other European Establishments in America.

Respecting the French West India Colonies, they must always depend on some European State both for Protection and for a Market for their productions; they cannot therefore have either the power or inclination to separate themselves from that Government to which they are Naturally subject.

To resist for any considerable Time not only the whole National Power of Great Brittain, but That of her German Allies, may be too much for the United Colonies, deprived as they are in part of the means of defence, particularly of Artillery, small Arms, Gunpowder, Cloathing, &c.; and should the powers of Europe continue regardless of their Fate, and should the Colonies be finally compelled to submit again to the Dominion of Great Brittain, the Consequences of that Submission must be such as ought to alarm Europe in general, & France in particular.

For when Great Brittain shall have subjugated the

United Colonies, she will be emboldened by her Success to govern them in a manner more immediately subservient to her own Interests and Greatness than was ever before attempted; the Commerce which they have carried with the French, Dutch, and other West India Colonies, & of which the English West Indian planters have long unreasonably complained, will doubtless be entirely prohibited, and every other branch of the Trade of the United Colonies will be further abridged, and wholly confined to such Channels as the partial Interest of Great Brittain shall prescribe.

Means will also be found to draw considerable supplies of Money from them to enrich the Treasury of Great Brittain; and as She will never want some pretext for a Warr, it may well deserve consideration whither the numerous Armies which she may then raise in the United Colonies, disciplined as they will be, would not, from their Vicinity & other advantages, endanger the safety of the French and Spanish Settlements in America, and whither the United Colonies, if again subjected to Great Brittain, will not afford her such an Accession of Power in that Quarter of the Globe as must be incompatible with the Peace and safety of those Nations who have possessions there?

The general Interest of Europe, & particularly of France and Spain, seems to require that Great Brittain should not be permitted to recover the Dominion of the United Colonies; but how this will be prevented is a Question which others must determine.

The United Colonies presume not to desire or expect that France (with whom they would make their first and strongest Alliance) should enter into a Warr with Great Brittain on their account. But it may not be impertinent to observe, That if France should have Causes and Motives of her own to such a measure, there certainly never was a Time so suitable to the Execution of it as the present. Or should France

think the Trade & Commerce of the United Colonies deserving not only of their Toleration, but of their open & avowed protection, they would have but little to apprehend from Great Brittain, almost the whole of whose National Force is now in America.

Forty-two Regiments & Two Battallions of English Troops, besides the German Mercenaries, are now on that Continent; of the remaining British Troops Four Battallions are in the West India Islands, six Regiments are at Minorca & Gibraltar, Nine Regiments only are in Ireland, and from them so many men have been drafted that they do not consist of Two Hundred & fifty men each. The same may be said of Ten Regiments which, with one of invalids, are all that remain in Great Brittain.

Of the British Navy, near Seventy sail, great & small, are employed in America, and the Shipps of Warr which remain at home neither are or can be supplied with their Complement of Seamen; even those Ships which have been sent to America were in part manned by draughts from the Guardships, and even with this Assistance they were obliged to sail with but little more than half their usual number of men, whilst the Shipps remaining were left in a much more defective situation. And, respecting the British Finances, it may with Truth be said that they certainly are not in a Condition which would permit Great Brittain to maintain a Warr with France, even for six months. Since the commencement of the last peace Great Brittain has discharged only seven Millions of her public Debt, & of these no more than Three Millions were paid by the ordinary revenue of the State, the remaining four having been supplied by accidental & transitory means which the late Warr either produced or left, & which are now exhausted; these are: 1st, Two Million received in five years from the East India Company, by contributions of Four hundred Thousand pounds per Annum, now no longer paid; 2dly, the monies arising from the Sales of French

prizes; 3dly, the produce of the sales of Land in the newly ceded West India Islands; 4th, the surplus of parliamentary Grants during the late Warr not expended; 5th, the premium given by the Bank of England for the renewal of their Charter; 6th, the Sum received from France as a Composition for the maintenance of French prisoners during the late Warr, together with several other extraordinary & transitory supplies.

The expence of the present year will, however, probably increase the British National Debt to more than the enormous Sums at which it had risen at the close of the last Warr, and, consequently, will place Great Brittain in a very distressed Situation.

It appears from exact estimates that the savings of the sinking Fund, or, in other Words, the whole produce of the National Taxes and Revenue, after paying the Interest of the Public Debt and the ordinary expence of Government, leave a surplus of no more than Three hundred Thousand pounds; this, then, is the only fund by which Great Brittain can pay the Interest of the immense Sums which she must borrow to maintain her present expensive American War, and it is the only security which she can offer for the sums to be so borrowed. But even this poor Revenue is imaginary and not real, for though it existed whilst Great Brittain uninterruptedly enjoyed the Trade of America, yet it is beyond a doubt that the entire Loss of that Trade will diminish the produce of the public Taxes and Revenues much more than the Three Hundred Thousand pounds in Question, and consequently will not leave Great Brittain the means of borrowing a single Shilling. The Tax on American Tobacco alone amounted annually to about Four Hundred Thousand pound, every Shilling of which is now lost to their Revenue. A great part of the expences of the present year have been artfully kept out of the public view by the British Administration. Under cover of a Vote of credit they have only proceeded to borrow two Mill-

ions (not one third of the Debt which must necessarily incur), & in order to find even these Two Millions have been forced to impose additional Taxes upon Articles which were before very highly Taxed; which proves what indeed is notorious, that they have no new objects for future Taxation, & it is more than probable that these additional Taxes will lessen the consumption of the Articles so Taxed, & thereby disappoint Government of the supplies expected from these Taxes, and in that case nothing will remain to pay the Interest of the two Million in question. But how, under any event, can the British Ministry provide for the Millions which yet remain of the Expences of the present year, or how is it possible that they can borrow other Millions for the expence of a War in another year? They are themselves sensible of their inability. They have acknowledged it by making use of it as their principal argument for exerting the utmost Abilities of the Nation & its Allies to finish the Warr in one Campaign. Should they not be able to accomplish This subjugation of the Colonies by Arms, they must be driven to close it by Negotiation, & by granting to the Colonies their Demands. Let either event take place, whither Great Brittain recover the Dominion of the Colonies by Conquest, or by compromise, Consequences of the most alarming nature to the powers of Europe interested in America, particularly to France & Spain, will inevitably follow. Communities & Kingdoms, like individuals, are often the most to be dreaded when in the most desperate Circumstances, & it is easy to see that Great Brittain, with a Debt of One Hundred & fifty million which she must owe at the End of this year, will be in a desperate situation, especially as several millions must remain unfunded unless foreign resources can be had. At the same Time, with a Veteran & disciplined Army of Forty Thousand Men, & a powerful Fleet in America in the Vicinity of West India & South American Wealth, She will (the Dominion of

the Colonies restored) have it in her power to reimburse the expences of this Warr in a Way tho' by no means justifiable, yet it is the only possible one. Will the British Administration be Scrupulous in such a Case? Their late proceedings in the East Indies, and their present in America, give evident Demonstration that they will sacrifice every other Consideration to their darling object, the seizing on the property of others to increase their own Wealth & Revenues. . . . .

It is most earnestly requested, that the great personages to whom the foregoing simple & plain, yet important & alarming Facts are laid open, would examine them with the utmost attention & impartiality.

The humble Agent who represents the United Colonies is not possess'd of those advantages which they have who represent antient and opulent States; he has no Millions to offer in Subsidies for Mercenary Troops. But he presumes the Cause single & divested of every thing adventitious, is sufficient to interest the great Lovers & promoters of human Felicity to espouse and Support it. And if the Conscious satisfaction which results from relieving the distressed & humbling the Oppressor, affords the most pure & exalted of all humane pleasures and Rewards, how exceeding great and lasting must that be which will be enjoyed by those whose exalted Station gives them the Ability, & their greatness of Soul the disposition of extending such relief to Millions struggling under Oppression's heavy hands; it would be equalled only by the endless gratitude of the numberless Millions rising into existence in a New & Extensive World.

Semper honos nomenque illorum laudesque manebunt.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 607.

To the Secret Committee of Congress.

Paris [Dec. 1776.]

Gentlemen,—Having wrote so largely by Mons. Du Coudray and Baron de Kalb, by whom I sent duplicates for the greater certainty of the arrival of one set of letters, at least, as they embarked in different vessels, I need not be so particular in this. As the Parliament have set some time, you will be attentive to their disposition, which I think is some what altered, though the necessity of their situation drives them to pursue measures in which they have advanced by much too far to think of receding. Opposition finding their strength even less than ever, and the Ministry elated at their success at New York, after opposing the address on the speech & a few other motions of the Minister, retired from Parliament & have left the ministry to pursue their plans without a dissenting voice. Their designs in this secession are, in the first place, to avoid the mortification of being present at transactions which they cannot prevent; and, in the next place, to prepare themselves for an attack after the adjournment, by which time they hope to receive Acc^{ts} of the campaign being closed in such a manner as to strengthen them against the Minister. Meantime the ministry, sensible of the enormous expense, the present precariousness of their credit, of the storm gathering in Europe, and of the uncertainty of the wants of war, wish most ardently for Peace with America, and are determined, if art, bribery, or force can have effect sufficient, to bring it about early the next season; more ample powers, therefore, and different instructions are gone over to the commissioners. A new Edition, if I may so say, or rather a pretended explanation of Lord North's conciliatory proposition, is to be laid before a legal assembly, as they call it, of some one of the Colonies, and every art made use of to induce them to accept of it, which effected, will induce others & gradually bring on the long

wished for Disunion. Attempts will be made to convene the assembly of New York first for experiment, and such terms offered as they conceive can not be rejected; meantime Col. Faucett is sent into Germany to engage recruits for the American army; & a formidable fleet of observation, under Adm! Kepple, put in commission to awe France & Spain; & to prevent hostilities from the latter, it is proposed to force the Portuguese to make restitution for the damages in S°. America; meantime a fleet, with ten thousand land forces on board, has sailed from Cadiz, the destination unknown. A still larger armament preparing, and this occasions the greater speculation, as the object pretendedly aimed at is not of importance sufficient to require such a force. France continues to arm, and is laboring to retrieve her finances, the wretched situation of which, with the youth & pacific disposition of the King, are the principal objections to immediate action. The death of the King of Portugal is expected every hour, which will have a very great effect on the affairs of Europe, & most probably accelerate a Rupture.

Several of the opposition have been, and still are, in Paris. I avoided, as far as in my power, any intercourse with them, finding that nothing did my affairs here greater prejudice than suspicion of some negotiating with Great Britain, which the minority as ardently wish for as the Ministry, and the contest between them is really which shall effect it, and on whose terms. I could not dispense with seeing Lord Shelburne, & Mr. Cha^{s}. Fox, & Lord Townsend, with whom I had a free and long conversation. I find the minority, three or four excepted, dread our final independance as much as the Ministry, & reconciliation and reunion is the stile they talk in. I frankly told them that America considered herself much obliged to her friends in the opposition, tho' unfortunately their efforts had been ineffectual. That the Rubicon was now passed, & it was as easy, & more so, to go for-

ward than to confound ourselves by treading our steps backward on any condition whatever. That Independance, though not our original design, & tho' forced on us by a weak, wicked, & unrelenting Administration, I doubted not, was so agreeable to my countrymen that they would never consent to relinquish it and return to any kind of subjugation. That it was the true interest of Great Britain to confirm the independance, and regain their confidence and commerce, by immediately withdrawing their forces and offering the most favourable terms of alliance and friendship.

Though they did not disapprove of my reasoning on the subject, yet they were confident Great Britain would hazard all rather than close with such proposals. They professed much friendship for America, and hinted at their exertions for us, for both of which I made my acknowledgements, tho' we were now obliged in one sense, as Independant, to make publickly no distinction. The wish of the people in England is, undoubtedly, for peace with America, but the Ministry and their Master give out that one campaign more will settle it on their own terms. I hinted in a former letter that Germans & Swiss might be engaged for America, & I submit whether the taking a few batallions into pay would not be good policy, as it would alarm Great Britain exceedingly. I would propose, not to take them on the tèrms the Hessians were hired by Great Britain, but to obtain, on certain terms, liberty to raise such a Number of recruits in those territories as if for the service of France, and purchasing or having a number of frigates in Europe to embark them as for St. Domingo; this would insure both vessels and passengers off the coast of Europe.

Endorsed: Dated December as supposed.

Lee Papers, Harvard University.

To Conrad A. Gerard.

Sir,—A slight indisposition confining me to my Chamber, obliges me to ask the Favor of your presenting the inclosed, which is on the Subject of the Brass Cannon detained, on which I pray your interest, as a delay will be attended with the most unhappy Consequences to those for whose Use they are intended. I have the honor to be, with the utmost respect,

Sir, Your most Obed't, &
Very hum^e^ Servt,
Silas Deane.

Paris, 1st Jan'y, 1777.
Mons^r^ Gerard.

Enclosure.

To his Excellency, the Comte de Vergennes, Secretary of State and Minister for foreign Affairs, &c., &c.

May it please your Excellency:

Pursuant to the encouragement given me by your Excellency, at the first & subsequent interviews I had the honor of having with your Excellency, I had engaged a number of Brass Cannon, thro' the agency of M^r^ Beaumarchais, & had the same transported to different ports in the Kingdom of France, & Vessels engaged for transporting the same to the place of their destination. Having thus far succeeded, I dispatched Letters to my Constituents, informing them of my proceeding and that they might rely on the supplies I had thus engaged. These Stores, I am now informed, are detained, by Order from Court: on which I have to intreat your Excellency, that, in Case they will be permitted to be shipped at all, they may not be stopp'd any longer, as the Vessels expence is very great, & the disappointment, should they not arrive in Season, absolutely irreparable. I have the misfortune to be confined to my Chamber by a slight

Fever, or I should in person have sollicited your Favors in this Affair. This is a brief & just stating of the Facts so farr as I have been concerned; if these Articles may be permitted to be shipp'd, your Excellency may depend that your directions as to the port from whence, & the manner in which they shall be sent, shall be most exactly attended to.

I have the honor to be, with the most profound respect,

Your Excellency's most Obedient &
Very Hum^e^ Serv^t^,
SILAS DEANE.

Paris, 1st Jan'y, 1777.

Stevens's Facsimiles, Nos. 610, 611.

TO CONRAD A. GERARD.

Mr. Deane's Compliments to Monsieur Gerard. He did himself the honor, of writing him the 1st inst, & inclosing a Letter for the Comte de Vergennes, stating the Case [of the] Cannon detained, &c., which confinement by illness, prevented his presenting in person. To this letter, he received a Verbal Message, by his Servant, that he might expect an Answer the next day; for this, Mr. Deane waited untill this Morning, when, notwithstanding his ill state of health, he ventured to Versailles, having recveived no Answer from his Excellency the Comte de Vergennes or Mons^r^ Gerard. Mr. Deane lodges at the Hotel de Joue, and will be much obliged to Mons^r^ Gerard, for one-half hour's Conversation, either this evening or in the Morning—his State of health will not permit his going out in the Evening with Safety.

Hotel de Joue,
Versailles, 5th Jan'y 1777, 7 o'clock.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 615

To Robert Morris.

Paris, Janʸ. 6th., 1777.

Sir,—Herewith I send you, invoice of a Cargo of goods shipped by Mons. Chaumont, which on acct. of the great Uncertainty of the Port into which they may fall, as well as other considerations explainable to you by the bearer, are jointly consigned to the Captn. & Mr. Bromfield. The money was advanced for the goods by M. Chaumont, & every advantage taken for our joint interest; in consequence thereof, that we may be liable to no loss, I consented to the Insuring both principal & premium, on condition that if the same can be procured, which it most certainly can, at a much less premium, the abatement is to be made. You will see, I engage for one third, to be equally divided, and the Bill for the amount is not payable, but on the arrival of the Vessel. Woollens, of the Coarse kind, are universally dearer in France than in England. Mons. Chaumont is a capital man in France, & makes this as his first experiment, on the success of which, he proposes to regulate his future connections in America. The freight of tobacco back at four guineas p HHd. is, I think, an advantageous contract, & doubt not you will be able to answer Mons. Chaumont's expectations. Mr. Bromfield, in all his proceedings, will strictly attend to your advice & directions, and the proportion for us if disposed of in Philada must be solely at your control. I am at present confined to my chamber with a slow fever, & bad cold, or I should be much more minute, which you may depend on as soon as I can hold my pen any time, this being the first time I have put it to paper for almost ten days. I am, with compliments to Mrs. Morris & all friends, Dr. Sir,

Yours, &c.,
S. Deane.

The net profits, if any, hold for use of my wife &

son payable to order of Mrs. Deane, or my brother, Barn^{s}. Deane Esq^{r}. I have written to several parts for insurance; pray will you set up one in America? The premium is tempting, in my opinion, at 10 or 15 pr. ct., but, at all events, this adventure will be insured in Europe.

Lee Papers, Harvard University.

To Caron de Beaumarchais.

Paris, Jan'y 6th, 1777.

Sir,—I received yours of last Evening, and should have waited on you this morning, but for a violent cold, attended with a slight Fever, which confines me to my Chamber. I had before the receipt of yours the disagreeable Intelligence of the Return of the Amphitrite into L'Orient, and of the orders from Court forbidding her or any other of the Vessels to proceed to America. Your Chagrin and vexation on this Event cannot exceed mine. We must not, however, despair in a Cause, the magnitude, as well as critical Situation of which calls for our utmost Efforts, and will justify us in running almost any risque to get out the supplies now ready, & without which America must suffer extremely, if not be forced to submit. In answer to yours of this morning, I have to inform you, the joint Commission from Congress to my Colleagues & me does not supersede or interfere in the least with my former Commission & Instructions to purchase & send out Stores and Merchandize to America; and my Colleagues will not intermeddle in the Engagements taken by me previous to their Arrival. The whole, therefore, of this affair remains in the state it was at first, and it lyes solely on us to take the best measures in our power to get the Shipps to Sea with the Stores as soon as possible. The Cargo of the Amphitrite alone would be a Capital Supply in the present destitute situation of our Army in America. I still

hope that as soon as the noise occasioned principally by some of the Officers returned in the Amphitrite shall have subsided this ship may again be got to sea. I am not satisfied with Mons^{r}. du Coudray's conduct on this occasion, and shall write to him my Sentiments respecting it. I will, if possible, see you this Evening, or early tomorrow morning, as we have not a moment to lose; meantime I have the honor to be, with the utmost respect and Gratitude for your Exertions for my Country,

Sir, your most Obed^{t}.
& very humb^{e}. Serv^{t}.

SILAS DEANE.

Mons^{r}. Beaumarchais.

Thomas Mss.

FROM CONRAD A. GERARD.

6 Jan^{r}., 1777.

M. Gerard desirerait avoir l'honneur de rendre compte de l'Execution de sa commission. Il prie de lui indiquer le lieu et le moment.

Il desirerait aussi entretenir Monsieur Deane sur l'objet qu'il lui a recommandé.

Franklin Papers, Department of State.

LE RAY DE CHAUMONT TO ROBERT MORRIS.

Paris, Jan. 7th, 1777.

SIR,—Upon the friendship which I have for Mr. Deane I have accorded him one hundred thousand livres in the ship Union, Cap^{t}. Roche, the half of which is upon your account. You will judge by the qualities and price of the commodities if a better assortment could have been sent. It is to be wished that the principal merchants of Philadelphia, Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina would associate together and make expeditions for France, and in Dividing the

losses upon as great a number of ships as possible the weight of insurance might be saved.

The merchants may address their vessels to me and Mr. Deane, and we will return in them whatever commodities they shall desire, and in which we will have an interest. I desire you will procure to Messrs. Roche and Bromfield all the advantages that be in your power for the commodities with which they are loaded, and in which you have an interest; procure them vessels to load with merchandise for their return. If in acquitting yourself with Mr. Deane you return merchandise, it is natural to suppose that you will address them to me conjointly with Mr. Deane, for in case of his death I should then have an opportunity of recovering my advances.

I am, with respect for your character,
your most obedient, humble servant,
LE RAY DE CHAUMONT.

To Robert Morris, Esq., of Philadelphia.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

TO CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

Paris, January 8th, 1777.

SIR,—As we may probably in a short time send means to forward the Stores at Nantes & Havre, I can but mention to you a Circumstance which gives me some uneasiness, and which I conceive it to be your Interest as well as mine to remove. Certain busy Persons have hinted that the Arms and other Articles were not good nor well laid in. Now though I have no more doubt of the Falsity of these Reports than I have of the ill designs of those who propagate them, yet to remove even the Shadow of Suspicion on this subject I propose the having an Inspection made in a way that will be at once satisfactory & without making the transaction public. To effect this I will, if agreeable to you, prevail with Mr. Carmichael, whom you

know, to go to Havre, and with M^r. Williams, the Nephew of Doc^r. Franklin, who is a Merchant, and on whose Judgement full reliance may be placed, to Nantes, to examine personally into the State of the Arms and Stores, and to make their Report how they find them. I propose, farther, that M^r. Carmichael stay at Havre untill the Seine shall be dispatched, & M^r. Williams at Nantes untill the Stores from there can be got to Sea, if it can be effected in any Season. If this proposal is agreeable to you, the Gentlemen will wait on you to receive any orders you may have, & set out tomorrow, or the next Day at the farthest. With the highest Respect.

I have the honor to be, &c., S. DEANE.

Mons^r Beaumarchais.

Thomas Mss.

TO CONRAD A. GERARD.

Paris, January 8^th., 1777.

SIR,—On my returning to Paris and informing my Agent that the counter order was taken off, and that the cannon might be embarked, I was informed that Mons^r. Sartine would not permit them to be shipped, but upon American bottoms. You will remember I told you that I had procured French vessels, which would clear out, as if bound for S^t. Domingo, to which I understood there would be no objection. Any delay is, in a greater or less degree, fatal to the cause of America. I must, therefore, entreat that the orders may be explicit on this subject. American vessels cannot be procured—if they could, there would be too great a risk, whilst there is none in French vessels on this coast, and but little in America.

I have not received the letters you did me the honor of writing to me some days since, but your answer to this will undoubtedly be delivered safe by the bearer; and I wish that a copy of the order or permission respecting the embarkation may be enclosed, which will

prevent a possibility of doubt. As the season advances, I am extremely impatient to despatch these stores, on which so much depends.

I have the honor to be, with the most profound respect, Sir, your most obedient & most humble servant,

S. DEANE.

To Mons^r^ Gérard.

Lee Papers, Harvard University.

FROM NICHOLAS ROGERS.

Nantes, 9^th^ January, 1777.

You have no doubt already heard of our arrival at port L'Orient, from whence, M. Du Coudray wrote to you, as I would have done if I had not been obliged to come here at once to seek a pilot, whom we have been fortunate in finding. M. Du Coudray will tell you how intelligent he is, but he drinks. His name is Paddock, and that of his captain, Maysbrig, who arrives from Maryland with a profitable cargo of tobacco; he is a relative of Dr. Franklin, as he tells me—I know nothing more of him. You will possibly in some respects, disapprove of the conduct of M. Du Coudray in that we have returned to port L'Orient; but, believe me, he has done very well, for the vessel was by no means fit to go to sea and I assure you that that great man, B., who sent off the vessel from Havre, was very certain that she would be obliged to put into some port on the coast. How could it be otherwise, since there were on board only provisions for ten passengers, whereas there ought to have been provisions for forty? Besides that, there was not a man on board who knew the entry of a single port in America. The first time I wrote to you from Havre, I let him know; he offered very obligingly to put the letter in his packet, but as I guessed his intention I could not help smiling (which he noticed) at the desire which I saw he had to open my letter, and his fear of finding therein the most complete dissatisfaction with his conduct. As he saw that I

guessed it, he sent his clerk to me some hours afterwards to beg me to let him read my letter before sealing it, which I allowed him to do, but I wrote you nothing. The first day I saw him he told me that he had very important matters to communicate to me touching my country, but that it was necessary that he should tell me them by word of mouth, because a letter might be lost. Guess what these important matters were : to give him good recommendations to Congress, a thing which he doubted whether you might be willing to do. His change of name, carrying several of his relations along with him, having all his pieces played and going every night to the Comedy, is as ridiculous behaviour as one could imagine. God preserve us from trusting our money to such beings! Happily the outing in the Channel has disgusted him, at which I am delighted. You will see him in a few days at Paris. He will himself tell you that he has decided not to go to America. Do not acquaint him of anything which I write to you. The Chevalier Dubourg is certainly one of the meanest creatures that I have ever known. I assure you that such people are not *for* our game. He is one of M. B.'s favourites. I heartily wish that we might get rid of him. But to compensate this I cannot sufficiently praise M. Du Coudray. He fears neither fatigue nor danger. He has been very distressed by the sea, and if I wished to depict his character to you, it would be quite the opposite of that which Cassius made of Cæsar when he speaks of his illness in Shakespeare. I assure you that all his officers are excellent and wonderfully well chosen. Colonel Conway, of whom you yourself have a good opinion, is also very good, and will render us good service. If it were possible to despatch M. de C. forthwith with half a dozen of his best officers in Captain Wickes' frigate, it would render us the most important of all services.

I am, &c.,

NICHOLAS ROGERS.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 620.

To the Secret Committee of Congress.

Paris, January 10th, 1777.

Gentlemen,—Since my last per the Amphitrite, I have met with fresh & unexpected disappointments, which have delayed the Stores. Those, by this conveyance, consisting chiefly of Fusils & cloathing, are from Nantes, and as before I have ordered them to make if possible the harbor of Boston; if not to stand as far Southward as the Capes of Philadelphia or still to the South, so as to make somewhere a harbor as far to the Northward as possible. I have been so particular in my former, I need not inlarge in this Letter, only to observe that large advances of cash have been made, for some of which I am personally accountable, & it distresses me to find the American remittances all centering into hands, whence on my part I have not the least hopes of any thing. It is now become the concern of others, as well as my own, to represent this matter, but it is not so immediately affecting any one as to me, who am personally ingaged for larger sums than it will be in my power to answer: unless supplied from whence, as I before said, I have little to hope either for the Public or myself. Might I be permitted to give my opinion, I should advise a total alteration of your commercial System & method, by ingaging Capital houses of France, unconnected with Great Britain, to undertake our affairs of Commerce, which may give a weight & importance, whilst such men as are sent out really affect us directly contrary, among which I cannot except Mr. Mirkle, who has been here. He will doubtless answer his ingagements, but I cannot find that he knows any house, or is known by any of Consequence, in Europe, but I may not add, & am,

Gentlemen, your most obedt
& very humble Servt.,
S. Deane.

To the Secret Committee:

I would recommend the instant dispatching this &

the other Shipps that may arrive with Cargoes in return. Rice, Indigo & Tobacco are principally in Demand in the Ports of Europe.

Thomas Mss.

From Robert Morris.

Philad^{a}., Jan'y 11th, 1777.

Dear Sir,—I have written you a long letter on the present State of public affairs, & intend this on Commercial matters. Your favour, dated Paris, 30th Sept^{r}. last, is the only one I have from you, and from the tenor of it I judge that several of yours to me & mine to you must have miscarried. I have long been aware that you wou'd suffer vexations for want of remittances, & have often told the Committee so, yet such has been our situation & circumstances it was not possible to mend the matter. In a former letter I told you of the several Captures of Ships & Cargoes intended for different parts of Europe to provide you with Funds. Our Ports were shut the greatest part of the Summer, & now again, when we expected them certainly to be open, the Enemy are cruizing at the mouths of our Bays and along the Coast with more industry than ever. I have told you in my other letter that the Eastern States had little fit for exportation to Europe: their Fisherys being prevented, there is no Oil, Fish, Whale Bone, &c., as formerly ; they are not employed in making Pot & Pearl Ashes as usual, & in short there is nothing for an European Market but Masts & Spars from New Hampshire and some little Bees' Wax & Flaxseed in Connecticut & Rhode Island. The Secret Committee gave orders to M^{r}. Langdon to ship Masts and Spars on the Public Account, & to John Bradford, Esq., at Boston, to purchase such Prize Goods as wou'd serve for remittance. They commissioned M^{r}. Shaw, at New London, to buy Flaxseed, &c., but all to little purpose. M^{r}.

Langdon has done something, the rest have not. At New York nothing cou'd be done you must be sensible, indeed Gen[l]. Washington was obliged to stop for the use of the army some Cargoes that M[r]. Livingston & M[r]. Lewis had shipped there. Here we were blocked up the best part of the Season and lost several valuable Cargoes intended for you; indeed the principal part of our Trade was obliged to be carried on in small vessels, & these were hardly sufficient to pay for the necessarys we imported from the West Indies. In Maryland & Virginia we have been buying much Tobacco, & as fast as vessels cou'd be got to carry it to market they have been sent off, but they are very scarce in all the States to the Southward of this, and Seamen, Cordage, Canvass, and other materials, still more scarce. To send them from one part of the coast to another was extreamly hazardous, whilst our Enemies' Cruizers covered the Seas in their very track. However we have been obliged to adopt this mode, & buy or charter prize Ships in N. England to go in Ballast for Virginia, Maryland & Carolina. Whether they will get safe or not is very doubtful, but if they do, we hope you will still be provided in the course of this Winter with satisfactory remittances; for we have many thousand hogsheads of Tobacco ready, & that article of all others will make the best remittance. From Carolina they had no Trade at all, untill very lately that some small vessells have gone from hence with flour & Iron to them, & some few French Men from the West Indies have ventured thither; however, the Committee have lodged Funds & orders with Mess[rs]. Levinus Clarkson & John Dorsius, to ship largely in Rice & Indigo; and if they can get ships this will be done; the same from Virginia & Maryland; and from hence when we can, but our River is now full of Ice & our Bay pestered with British Men of War; in short, you may perceive clearly that it is absolutely necessary the French shou'd send us aid in the naval line. A few Line of Battle Ships under our

direction last Summer wou'd have totally destroyed L^d^. Howe's fleet & Transports, & a few of them next Summer will command our Rivers & Bays, so that Ships may get in and out. When once at Sea they must take their chance, & that we are content to run ; but whilst they can ride securely masters at the Mouths of our Rivers & Bays, it is next to impossible to escape, and so we have found it. These considerations induce me to wish you may have negociated some loans with the French Court, that they may become so interested as to send their Men of War, in order to cover their own remittances. We did not find it necessary to direct remittances for you into Holland, as France cou'd draw on Lisbon or Cadiz, & equally well; but unluckily little has arrived for them to draw.

I am very sensible of your difficulties, and I think those you are connected with must be sensible of ours and that they will exert themselves to get them removed ; however, I wish you may have negociated a loan & shipped the Goods and Stores you mention for the West Indies, that we may get 'em from thence in small fast sailing Vessells, unless you cou'd send them out in Men of War of the Line. In the late confusion and alarm at this place I sent all my Books & papers out of Town, where they still remain, so that I cannot at present have referrance to what I wrote you the 5^th^ June, but I am much concerned that you depend on Insurance being made here. This business has been totally dropped this Summer, for altho the Underwriters might otherwise have been willing to continue it, yet the ample employm^t^ every body have found either in public or less hazardous business, induced them to lay it oneside, and as things are now circumstanced it wou'd be impossible to prevail on them to take it up again in this City. New York is in the Enemies hands, so that there is no place but Boston where there is the least chance of getting Insurance done, & even there they are not fairly got into their geers again. I hope my Brother has commu-

nicated to you what I formerly wrote him on the subject of Insurances, & that you will have got them done in France or Holland on whatever property you may have shipped this way.

As yet nothing has arrived nor do I know of any thing you have shipped being taken. Capt Morgan was taken near Cape May & is but just discharged from the Man of War; he tells me he had but little Goods on board & that the dispatches were all sunk; the young man that was passenger with him is still detained at New York a Prisoner. I suppose it was by him you wrote respecting the Loan I had mentioned &c. Shou'd you have engaged in a plan of sending out Goods to the value mentioned & we are tolerably lucky in getting them in, great things will be done; they will sell for enormous prices and I will invest the money in Tobacco, Indigo, Rice, &c., which shall be shipped back fast as possible. The things intended for your Family I suppose were on board Capt. Morgan but have not come to hand; I shou'd have been proud to [have] had an opportunity of sending them forward. I had the pleasure of seeing one of your Brothers here some time since who told me all your family were well.

Tobacco is to be sure a fine price in Europe and I hope we shall benefit thereby before long, both for the public & in some degree for ourselves also. Shou'd you obtain a French Fleet to come out here, then will be the time to speculate and I wou'd have you to charter & send out some Ships with Salt for Virginia, Maryland & this place, to carry Tobacco back. My Brother will conduct the business & you & he must fix the Concern or Shares, but if no fleet, send no Ships; let us wait & look further first. The Congress give me too many employments & heap vastly too much on me for any man living to do as it shou'd be; if they had left me to manage their Commercial matters & those only I cou'd have done great things, but instead of that all their active business is pushed

on me, much against my judgment altho inclination prompts me to do what I can in any line that promotes the Service of my Country.

I wish for time & opportunities to write you much oftener than I do and I am also very impatient to hear from you again, being Dr. Sir,

Your obedt Servant,

Robt. Morris.

Thomas Mss.

To the Secret Committee of Congress.

Paris, January 17th, 1777.

Gentlemen,—I hope this may be received with the stores from Havre de Grace. I can only say, I have been more than disappointed ; I have been deceived greatly in the despatching these stores. The delay which gave the original ground, I have before explained, and possibly said sufficient on that head. I have only now to say, my agreement with the officers of the Artillery, was on condition of their going out with these stores, and seeing that every thing was in the best order. They have some of them deceived me and taken different passages, which I shall explain when I write with more certainty [of] your receiving my letters. Meantime, I repeat that Monsr Du Coudray engaged in the affair of the Stores, and on that I founded my contract. He has left the vessel, and taken a different passage ; but I hope all will arrive in good order. Colo. Conway stands by the affair, with a perseverance which justifies the character given of him, and I hope will arrive in safety & in season.

I am just recovering from an illness attended with an intermitting fever, with which I have been for sometime confined—In consequence of which, I am unable to write long letters ; but, while able to hold a pen, I will omit no opportunity of writing. My best respects to the honorable Congress, & to all friends. I am,

with the most cordial esteem & friendship, Gentlemen,

Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Morris, &c., &c., Sec^{t} Com^{ee}.

Lee Papers, Harvard University.

FROM WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

Havre, 17th January, 1777.

I arrived here yesterday in the evening as the gates were being shut. I should have arrived sooner but for an accident which happened to my carriage 14 leagues from Paris. You may judge of my surprise on learning that the two vessels, which will certainly be ready for sea on Thursday next, have orders not to leave. They are laden as if for the West Indies and are consequently ballasted with tile, which will be useful and will make a difference of 80 guineas if they go to America. You observe that I speak as if it were decided for them to leave; I only suppose this, for I have not yet had time to speak with the parties interested and have not been able to make other inquiries. The "Romain" is 9 years old but has had a thorough refitting; the other is a handsome vessel 10 years old which has made 5 voyages. I trust this afternoon to present my letter to Messrs. Feray, and I shall then be able to give you a satisfactory answer as the result of the inquiries which I shall have made. The first thing that must be done is to obtain from the minister permission for the officers to do as they like about the munitions of war, for without this permission they will not let them go on board under any pretext whatsoever. Lose no time in obtaining it, not only for these two vessels, which perhaps will not be thought in a state to make the voyage, but for others which shall be privileged to carry munitions of war. I have seen the captain, who is said to be a drunkard although he has not the appearance of it. A ship's captain who left

Martinique two months and ten days ago, says that flour was at 50 livres the hogshead, and that if they were not allowed there to supply it to the English islands it would be worth nothing.

I am &c.

Wᵐ. Carmichael.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 625.

From William Carmichael.

Havre, Jan'y 19th, 1777.

Dear Sir,—Things are in much the same state as when I arriv'd here, no order to permit the exportation of the Tents, fusils, Cannon, &c. I know not on what terms the ships are freighted, but neither have enough at present to fill them, & not more than wou'd fill one, the Seine, as they call her. I wrote you what time it would take to make a different arrangement. All allow the Romaine safe for the voyage, but she sails & steers badly, & there is nothing now in her but the Cannon, some bombs, bullets, & the carriages, &c., of the Cannon. The other is a fine sailer, & even Monsr. Limozin allows her fit for *the* voyage. I am asked many questions by this Latter, & by Monsr. Feray. I appear to them to be dissatisfied with the Ships, & to look out for others, so that if your orders & the Court's arrive the Seine may sail directly for America, as intended by the Romaine, without much suspicion. But what to do with the poor artillery men I know not, who have waited here 3 or 4 months, & have constantly worked & assisted in the various changes of loading & unloading, which the Inconsistency of these people directed. It is really a great hardship on these, as I took the liberty of mentioning before. They appear discreet, Ingenious, hardy fellows. Desire Mr. Montieux or B. M. [Beaumarchais] to write to the same purpose as yourself, if you persist in not sending them. I wait with impatience to hear from you. I find the Amphithrite is again put back. The great error seems to be

in the number of passengers & in Du Coudray's desire to see Dr Franklin. Each here throws the blame on the other, and they do not fail to calumniate each other like Davies. I find our good Doctor Dubourgh's offers to the Fermier Generaux are not accepted, but that your Bargain is made. There are two or three letters arrived here to this purpose, which was shown to me in great confidence, and I dare undertake to say there are as many gone to every part in France, & that in consequence there are fifty schemes on foot to cheat the Fermiers Generaux in the ships which are to go out for it. If you ever expect secrecy from a Frenchman, woman, or child, you merit being abused; the secrets of the women are sometimes indeed worth having, but as from them you run the risque of Infection, so from the close whisper of the men you are suffocated with garlic. There are two ships for sale here which could be soon fitted out. I will get an Inventory of them. Let me have your final orders, for I am staying here with no pleasure to myself since I really can be of little service. I shall get the Invoice of every thing in these ships; shall examine the fusils, &c. I can assure you that all my inquiries have turned out in favor of the sufficiency of the Romaine, except as to her sailing, which the persons concern'd do not pretend to vouch for. The other can carry all the Cloathing, all the Fusils, the mortars, shells, Tents, &c.; mounts ten, & can mount 16 guns, and will be ready to sail the moment the Embargo is taken off; but then 19 pieces of Cannon are left behind, &c., for the stowage being made of both the ships, it will be a work of time with Frenchmen to unload both in order that the Seine carry the whole. Such is the situation; Determine. A vessel arriv'd spoke a privateer of ours off Cape Finisterre with three prizes. I beg my Compliments to Dr Franklin & Mr Lee, & am, with truth,

Your most obedient humble Servt,

W. CARMICHAEL.

Thomas Mss.

To the Secret Committee of Congress.

Paris, 20th January, 1777.

Gentlemen,—I have met with disappointments, unexpected as they have been affecting; after orders and counter orders and manœuvres, the very history of which would fill a volume, the Amphithrite departed with the first parcel of the stores on the 14th ult., and I was then in full confidence that the other vessels would instantly follow, as they lay ready in their different ports, when, to my surprise, counter orders arrived. While laboring to remove these, the Amphithrite returned into port, pretendedly through the want of live stock, &c., by the officers. The Captain has protested that he returned in consequence of the positive orders of Mons. du Coudray, to whom a superior power was given. I have no time to decide so disputable a point as that respecting Monsieur du Coudray's return, but the consequences have been bad. This, I must say, he acted an unwise and injudicious part in returning into the port he did, as he thereby gave a fresh alarm to the ministry, and occasioned a second counter order. Indeed Mons. du Coudray appeared to have solely in view his own ease, safety, and emolument, and instead of instantly despatching the ships with supplies, and thereby preventing a noise, he left the ships and returned quite to Paris without the least grounds that I can find for his conduct, and has laid his scheme to pass into America in a ship without the artillery, which is inconsistent and absurd, and contrary to our original agreement and constant understanding, as I engaged with this man solely on account of the artillery he was to assist in procuring, expediting, and attending in person. His desertion of this charge, with his other conduct, makes me wish he may not arrive in America at all. I am sensible that my difficult situation may affect you, and therefore I shall, if possible, prevent his going out at all. With respect to the other stores, they are embarked, and I

am promised a permit, which is all I may say on the subject, which is left solely to my management by my colleagues.

M. du Coudray, not content with leaving the ship, took with him the papers, which occasioned a still further delay after she was ready; but I will not enlarge on these disagreeable topics, but, wishing the stores at hand,

I am, with much esteem, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

I recommend the Captain to the generosity of Congress.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I., 101.

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL TO CHARLES W. F. DUMAS.

Havre, January 21, 1777.

DEAR SIR,—At the same time that I acknowledge the receipt of all the letters you mention having wrote, it would be necessary to apologize for my silence; this, I fear, would require a detail long enough to need still another apology, which would be making it a labour *ad infinitum*. I shall, therefore, only say, that from the heart of Germany I am now on the borders of the Atlantic, and that I have been on the gallop ever since I parted with you at Leyden. No St. John apostle, or Saint in the Calendar, ever run through countries with more zeal to gain inhabitants for heaven, then I have to do miracles on earth. But unfortunately, it is not an age for miracles, nor can I even have the presumption, that it is said was granted to Satan, of entering into the bodies of animals as sluggish as swine; for with great deference, be it whispered, as such do I begin to look on kings and the servants of kings. I am at present here, to botch up a piece of work, which was originally well imagined, but execrably executed, and I find it like the motley stature, which Nebuchadnezzar, or some of the

heathen kings of Assyria, saw in dream or vision; there is too much clay in the composition, ever to make much of it. You will, no doubt, have our Paris news from the prophet, who draws down fire from heaven, or Emanuel; I shall, therefore, only give you my comment on the text, which is, that France has done too much and much too little. Too much, since she has alarmed England, and made that country put itself in a better posture of defence than before; or, at least, strengthened the hands of her ministers with money for that purpose; much too little, because, depending even on that little, we looked not out elsewhere in time. My heart sickens at the idea of what we shall suffer from this miserable inconsistency of conduct, and it is the only thing, perhaps, that would ever reconcile us to her natural enemy.

To disappointment succeeds rage and a desire of vengeance. You, who know the heart, likewise know, how far this will operate. The conduct of the Scots, during the last war, originating from the last-mentioned principle, is a recent and striking example of this for France, would she look backward or forward . . . But how weak are the reasonings and speculations of men when opposed to their inclinations; I was just going to say, when opposed to an over-acting influence. Indeed, my dear St. John, I shall believe a particular providence soon, if you cannot find means to tell me, that there is a French fleet on its way to America. Do you not think, that we are particularly unfortunate, that we could not find one wind in any quarter of the sky, that would blow the Spanish fleet to New York. I want to apply to us what was said to an emperor of old . . .O nimium dilecte Deo, &c., but I fear I shall not have the opportunity. However, ships are fitting out at Brest; seamen are all taken up, yet the trade here have advice to go on with their equipments for the New-Found-Land fishery; . . . this augurs not war. A gleam of sun-shine just now breaks through this chaos, and my mind

floats in a pleasing dream of something yet generous. We have been dealt with as the children of poverty, to whom the cold hand of charity doles a miserable pittance. I have seen somewhere an item . . . in an individual's pocket-book . . . "Ten guineas for making a man happy." What a glorious change would it be in the annals of France . . . Ten millions for insuring the happiness of a people! If this is the case, hereafter, secure under my fig-tree and vine in America, I will say of Louis the XVI., what was applied to Augustus . . . "Deus nobis hæc otia fecit." Policy, as well as generosity and humanity, recommend this, but whether it will be is yet to say; all is uncertainty with me . . . but that I will not live to be enslaved, and that I am your much obliged devoted servant,

Wᴹ. Carmichael.

M. Dumas.

P. S. Your letters under cover to Messrs Germany, Gerardot & Co. at Paris, will find me there. Compliments to Madame.

The Port Folio, III., 300, *September* 17, 1803.

To General Du Coudray.

Paris, Janʸ 21ˢᵗ, 1777.

Sir,—I received your letter of the 19ᵗʰ. Your quitting the vessel at L'Orient, and returning to Paris, has occasioned a second order from the Court. The captain of the Amphitrite has protested that he returned not through want of any necessaries, but through your positive orders, when the wind was fair to proceed, —and that you took with you the orders & papers which prevented his sailing again when ready and the wind fair. Mr. Williams writes me, that your officers even threaten if they are not permitted to go from Nantes, to complain of me. In a word, I have ever

dealt sincerely with you, and now assure you, that I consider your conduct to have been very extraordinary in leaving the ship in which the artillery was, to try another passage, as you cannot be wanted in America without it; and it was the object of my engaging with either of you or your officers. As to those at Dunkirk and Marseilles, I wish them dismissed, though I lost the money myself, for to their imprudent babbling is owing much of the difficulty I have met with. I desire you would deliver to the Captain of the Amphitrite the orders which he is to attend to, which were signed by me; after which he is to blame alone if he neglects or counteracts them. And if you pass in any other than the Amphitrite give the letters, &c., &c., to Mons. Conway; for until I am satisfied with your ordering the Captain to return, and your leaving the vessel and returning to Paris, I must refer you for the justification of your proceedings to your, as well as my, superiors. In a word, the motives for my engaging with you were to serve my Country, and you at the same time. The consequences, without fault of mine, have been delay, and vexation to myself, & disappointment, if not irreparable damage to my country. I must ask M^{r}. Rogers faithfully to translate to you this letter, and am his and your very

Humble Serv^{t}.,

S. Deane.

Consider what services you or your officers can be of to America without the Artillery, and how long before it will arrive passing by St. Domingo.

Deane Papers, Harvard University.

To the Chevalier Chatteluir.

Sir,—When I had the honor of discoursing with you on the subject of Mons^{r} Du Coudray's conduct, you were sensible that I was not satisfied with it, and

that I finally was induced to sign the Letter certifying that he was a good Officer & well recommended, on assurances that no use should be made of that Letter but in America. What, then, must be my surprise, to find that the moment Monsr Du Coudray became possessed of the Letter, he made use of it without reserve in his Justification here, and went so farr as to send Monsr Barbarin to Monsr Beaumarchais to inform him of it; with what view I know not, unless it were designedly, to involve me in fresh Difficulties with a person with whom I have many & extensive Connections, and in whose hands many of the American Supplies now remains. This Conduct of Monsr Du Coudray convinces me, that I can have no Confidence in him, and that he is by no means intitled to any further patronage of mine. I would not have troubled you with this, but from the high Opinion I have of your honor, and my desire of having my Conduct at all Times considered by you as being consistent. I have the honor to remain with the most profound respect,

Sir, your most Obedt
& Very Hume Servt,
S. Deane.

To Monsr Chevalier Chatteluir.

Thomas Mss.

From William Carmichael.

Havre, 22 January, 1777.

Mr. Davis brought me yesterday your letter of the 17th. I now await your reply to my first, by which I asked you for my final instructions. I am very glad to find by this that you permit the officers of Du Coudray's corps to set out. There are no others here. I have an inventory of everything that is in each vessel, the state of their provisions, &c., and I trust that nothing will prevent the 'Seine' from setting sail after the arrival of the orders from the Court, if you allow her to sail without the cannon. I have tasted various

barrels of the wine sold by the same person who supplied that of the 'Seine,' and although it may not be of the best, I consider that it is very good for its purpose. Du Coudray, instead of writing letters, should have been careful to see whether his officers were properly accommodated; and if he wanted for cabins or other necessaries, he should have made the supernumeraries remain to sail by other vessels. I have always thought that was part of his business. I am of opinion that we ought to wait for more detailed news from America before allowing him to sail; and I am confirmed in this opinion by what one of his officers here tells me. I expected that the captain would be obliged to promise to go to the Islands, like the captain of the 'Amphitrite'; I shall not neglect any means of persuading him to proceed direct. The Court has informed the merchants of this town and those of Honfleur that they may make their shipments for Newfoundland. That does not betoken war. It is not desired here; peace makes the town flourishing. It has 117 vessels engaged with America, from 40 to 60 engaged on the coast of Guinea, independently of those engaged in other branches of commerce. As I have nothing to do, I shall try to obtain an exact statement of the imports and exports for your private information.

I have appeared, when in the company of Messrs. Limozin, Feray, &c., dissatisfied with the vessels, and I have looked at others in their presence, so that, unless my new companion babbles, no other but those who are employed there by M. de Monthieu, not even Du Coudray's officers, will know anything until the moment that the vessel sails. I await news from you with impatience, for I am weary of Havre and of doing nothing. There are here two vessels for sale. I will send you the inventory of them. Be very careful who you admit into your company.

I am, &c.,

W. C.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 629.

From William Carmichael.

Dear Sir,—Yours to the 22d, I just this moment received. I hope what I have since wrote has sufficiently explaind what you wished to know. However, I will repeat, that in the 1st place without an order from Court the vessels cannot sail. In the Second place the 19 pieces of Cannon, Carriages for the Cannon & matches, bombs and bullets are chiefly in the Romaine & are stowd away in such a manner in the hold, that it would be a work of time to take these out, & then unload the Andromede, which has all the Cloathing, fusils, two morters, some bombs, flints, powder, bullets, tents, & in short, all that I could have taken out of the other ship conveniently, stow'd away in her. I should have sent this ship instantly away with Du Coudray's officers, if the imbargo had been taken off. She could sail tomorrow & should, if that was the case. I only suspect injunctions will be laid to go to St Domingo. But I will promise mountains to the Captn & he may call on me for performance hereafter, for when we are so distressed we must not stick at Trifles. My first letter was under cover to Monsr Le Grand. For God's sake paint the dispatch of the ships here, at Dunkirk & Marseilles, as the proof necessary to show us that France wishes to see us Independant. The English Consul at Tangier is arriv'd from the Gibraltar cutter. He says a ship from S. Carolina with a Mr Dupont, whom he saw, Supercargo, is carried into that place. That by letters found on Board to a Gentleman in France, he was pressd to hurry ships from Bourdeaux & Nantz away with Cloathing, & likewise informd that he might expect many American Ships in those ports, that in consequence of this a light vessel was sent to Falmouth with the Intelligence. These Seas swarm with English Cruisers. I wrote you, that one or two vessels had been searchd, just arriv'd here. Yesterday a Captn came in from Spain who informs, that he was

search'd by a fifty Gun ship & the Arethusa a frigate, & chac'd by several others. He likewise informs that two American vessels were arrivd at Barcelona. The weather has been hazy, which may facilitate their Escape. I think we have been told that France would not allow English men of War to block up their ports. I have seen letters from various parts of England which mention that D^r^ Franklin is come over to make peace thro' the mediation of France; this is a new turn Ministry give to matters. Inclos'd you have inventories of vessels. I would have sent you an acco^t^ of the trade of this place, but I shall reserve it till you have more leisure. I am happy D^r^ Franklin does not think my journey to Berlin useless. I shall lay before you the acc^t^ of Expences when I return to Paris, but I want nothing but mere expences. Too happy if I can devote any part of otherways an useless life to the public service. However, if we are to be shuffled with, I absolutely will return to America, either to tell lyes & keep up their Spirits or tell the truth & let them guard against the worst. If I do not receive the orders to suffer the ship to sail by Sunday, I will quit this, for my longer stay will only make a noise without serving any one good purpose. I had like to have forgot that the man who sold the wine offers to repay the money, if it is not found to be good; he is imployed by every one here. I beg you to take care of yourself; to be able to assist you is one motive why I wish to quit this. My Compliments to your Colleagues, & tell M^r^ Lee if he wishes his brother to have bark, he must go to Versailles to have the Embargo taken off; upbraid M^r^ B. M. [Beaumarchais] for this. I am with truth, your & the Gentlemens

Most humble Serv^t^,

W^m^ Carmichael.

Havre, 24^th^ January, 1777.

Silas Deane, Esq^r^.

Thomas Mss.

From William Carmichael.

Dear Sir,—I receiv'd yours of the 23rd this moment, & find altho' I have been very explicit respecting the wants & orders from Court to permit the sailing of these Stores even for another Port of France, you still seem to think that there are orders here for that purpose, with certain restrictions to go to St Domingo or another Port in France. I have this day, as I have every day since my arrival, ask'd of the officer here are the orders arriv'd; can you suffer the ships to sail? The answer is now, as it has all along been, in the negative. Mr Monthieu writes that the orders were on the way, & that the Seine should go direct. In consequence, that no time should be lost, I consented that the hands might be ingaged on being informed that the expence would fall on Mr Monthieu should the ship not sail. She is now ready, every thing but the live stock aboard, & could quit the harbor the next tide. No one knows which ship is to sail for us of 4 fitted out by the same Gentlemen, not even Davis or the other officers; but yet no order. I see who deceives you, or think I do. Mr Eyries has wrote to his party the same I now write to you. I have protested in the strongest manner against your concern in the Ship, If she goes to any other part but the Continent, and as I can be of use here but to keep suspicion alive, I shall set off tomorrow after the arrival of the Post if it brings me nothing satisfactory. You cannot conceive how happy you make me in Dr Franklin's approbation. If I know my own heart well, it is covetous only of reputation, & now & then a pretty woman. In this affair I can not satisfy myself. It was well concerted, but miserably executed; 'tis like the motley statue seen by Nebuchednezzar or Assyrian King in vision or dream; it has too much clay in the composition even to make much of it. I see by your letter Du Coudray is still at Paris; was he under my orders, as he ought to be under yours & your Colleagues, He should finish this

business, depart for America, or I would have nothing to do with him at all. You may depend that every precaution possible shall be taken to secure the sailing of the Seine the moment the orders arrive. Should I leave this, as I intend, before that happens, I beg you not to write even a hint of any thing of your uneasiness, or any one circumstance but civility to any one here or elsewhere in the Ports, unless actually ingaged in our affairs, for their vanity or their rascality will betray your correspondence. Could you & the other gentlemen fix a good Correspondent here, however, to serve your orders to M^r. Bingham via the Islands, it is an excellent Port, as also to receive Intelligence. I have desird Limozin to particularize the ship news now & then, & he is vain of the employment. Any thing you wish to circulate thro' England write these gentry, & it will be an excellent means of doing it. Write always full of spirits & hopes. 2 vessels with about 16,000 bushels of wheat are arriv'd at Milford Haven from Canada. I see their Letters to M^r. Limozin to know the prices here. I shall bring with me the Invoices. I have examined the Fusils; tho' not the very best, yet they are by no means faulty, & I opend a chest of my own choosing. Adieu! all will go right in the end, we shall get thro' the thicket, but we may feel a few of the Thorns. My Compliments to D^r. Franklin & M^r. Lee. I am, with much truth & respect, your oblig'd humble Serv^t,

WM. CARMICHAEL.

Havre, 26^th Jan'y, 1777.

To Monsieur Deane,
A L'Hotel D'Hambourg rue Jacob,
hotel Colbert.

Thomas Mss.

From Thomas Morris.

Nantes, 30 January, 1777.

I wrote to you as well as to Mr. Franklin on the 14th of this month, by Captain Nicholson. I will tell you, with regard to the reply which you have made me, that part of the tobacco still remains unsold, but that I have some hope of soon finding a purchaser; that which has been sold is not yet paid for. I recollect very well the conversation which we had together at Paris on the subject of money, and I am sorry that the necessary funds are not yet come in to meet the various demands of those with whom the Secret Committee has entered into engagements. Their demands are pressing and frequent. The cargoes arrived as yet will not be enough to satisfy them. The indigo is sold, and 40,000 £ has been remitted to M. Solier, according to your orders and those of Mr. Franklin.

Many Frenchmen have applied to me in your name for passages to America, and have even importuned me to such an extent that for some days past I have had no time to attend to other matters. I have acceded to the request of several, and have sent them on board the two vessels which are at present in this port; one of them is well known at Philadelphia; many others, who cannot be of use to our country in any way, have been refused. The "Success," Captain Anderson, will sail next week.

I am, &c.,

Thomas Morris.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 633.

From Robert Morris.

Philadelphia, Jan'y 31st, 1777.

Dear Sir,—I am exceedingly uneasy at a Letter received last night from my Friend, Mr James Duff, of Cadiz, respecting my Brother; he tells me that he had

regularly Corresponded with him from the time he arrived in Europe untill he went over to England, and that from that time he never answered his letters, altho' they contained business of moment, and I am likely to suffer Considerably by the neglect; he adds that his Expences were growing very Extravagant, and, in short, gives some reason to suppose his Conduct is not right. Circumstanced as I now am with him, you may suppose this gives me a most Serious Alarm. He had been Frolicksome & Foolish many times as a Boy, but as I never knew him to depart from Principles of honor and Integrity in his wildest days, I never entertained a doubt of his becoming an excellent Character in the progress of his Manhood; these considerations, and the good accounts given of him by all my Friends in Spain and Italy, induced me not only to commit to his care my own private Business in which he is a Partner, but to recommend him to the Superintendency of the Public business, as you will have seen heretofore; and I know also that he has good Mercantile Abilitys, if he will but exercise them properly. However, this Letter from Mr Duff Alarms me most exceedingly, as it will make me most unhappy if the Public business should have suffered by this Appointment. I have hopes that on receiving my Letters he would Instantly repair to France, consult you in all things, and Act under your Guidance; if this should be the case, I shall be happy; if it is not, much shall I feel on the occasion. However, I give you this notice of my Alarm the moment I have received it, that either his neglect or abuse of the Trust reposed in him, if any there be, may be remedied the soonest that is possible; and I am to inform you that the Secret Committee have agreed to join Alderman William Lee, Esqr, late of London, now Supposed to be in France with my Brother in this Commission, therefore you can immediately give him notice of it, and letters Authorizing him to act will follow this immediately; at present there is not time for it, neither

are the rest of the Secret Committee here. I have by this Conveyance wrote to my friend Mr John Ross, of this place, now in Europe (I expect in France), giving him a full account of this affair, and authorizing him, if he finds my Brother to have been faulty, immediately to get from him all Letters and Papers that regard the Public or my own business, together with a Power of Attorney from my Brother to act in his name and behalf untill such time as a proper Arrangement shall take place. Mr Ross unluckily is a Scotch Man, but he is a Staunch American, or I am much deceived; he was many years my Neighbour, we have done a great deal of business together, and I know him to be a Capable, Steady Merchant, regular and Punctual, therefore I most chearfully commit my own affairs to his Guidance, and the Public will benefit by any direction he may have in theirs. I recommend this Gentleman to your Friendship, but as to Politics, you'l use your discretion in trusting him or not, as he is from North of the Tweed, but I am confident he is a fast Friend to the Interest of this Country; indeed, it is his own Interest to be so. Should Mr Ross be in France when you receive this, he will do the needfull immediately; if he is not there, you will take the proper care of all Public Effects untill he comes; at the same time I must flatter myself with the Hope that my present fears are needless. This will be delivered you by Captain Thomas Bell, whom I have sent over with the Public dispatches to you, Gentlemen Commissioners, and herein you will find enclosed a letter directed to my Brother, left open and dated the 29th Inst, before I had any reason to doubt his Prudence; by this you will find I have procured Capt Bell a Commission for a Privateer, and that my Friend, Mr John Maxwell Nesbitt, is to be interested therein to the amount of One Thousand Pounds Sterling, & myself to the same amount, and that we proposed you and my Brother should make up the rest of the Concern to Compleat such a Cruizer as you should deem best Calculated for

Success. If my Brother is doing what he ought to do and has your approbation to his Conduct, he may still go on with this business; if the reverse, Mr. Ross can do it well, or you may appoint any other Person that you think proper, but as Capt Bell goes so long a Voyage for this purpose and you have encouraged the Plan, he must not be disappointed. I have shipped some Tobacco by the Ship he goes in, Consigned to Messrs Pliarne, Penet & Co, with orders to sell it to the best advantage, and to comply with your orders to the amount of One Thousand Pounds Sterling, which is to pay my Interest in this Privateer. Mr Nesbitt says he has some bills, but not enough for his share; he expects to have some money in my Brother's hands from a former Consignment, and he will send forward other effects soon to make it up. He is a Man of honor and Fortune, and may be depended upon; therefore do not let him be disappointed, and, to prevent it, I have now directed that Messrs Pliarne, Penet & Co should account with you for the whole net proceeds of 86 hhds Tobacco by this Ship, which I hope will neat above £20 St'g pr. hhd. If Mr Ross fits the Privateer, you can transfer this order to him; if my Brother does it, Transfer it to him, and if the whole is not wanted, only take so much as is required, leaving the remainder with Messrs Pliarne & Co for future orders. There are four hhds of Furrs on board this Ship, also Consigned to these Gentlemen; they are for Public Account, and the net proceeds to be remitted to you; originally they were ordered to my Brother, as well as the Tobacco, but I have altered the orders to Messrs Pliarne & Co, without mentioning the Cause. You'l observe that the Cargoes that have been dispatched from America for Europe, Consigned to the order of Mr Thos Morris, have all been directed to Messrs Pliarne, Penet & Co, at Nantes, Messrs Saml & J. H. Delap, at Bourdeaux, and one to Mr Andrew Limozin, at Havre de Grace, unless he has fixed other Agents at those and other Ports since he received his

Appointment; therefore you can readily come at all that have arrived, for if he has attended to his duty, he will know and give account thereof; if he has not, the Cargoes and his letters must remain with the above houses, unless they have sent the Letters and made the remittances to you, and in that case you will deliver all the letters that regard my Houses Private Concern to Mr Ross, also any money or Effects that may have come into your hands in Consequence of them. I put 100 hdds of Tobacco on their account on board the Ship *Aurora*, from Virginia, and 50 hhds on board the Ship *Farmer*, Captain Dashiel, from Maryland, both for Nantes, directed to Messrs Pliarne, Penet & Co., but Consigned to the order of Mr Thomas Morris; the rest of the Cargoes were on Public Account. I hope to be relieved from this state of Anxiety I am suddenly thrown into by the imprudence of one I am very desirous of serving, and have taken much pains to make a Valuable good Man. God send he may yet turn

I beg my compliments to Doctor Franklin; I am impatient to hear of his safe Arrival, and shall be very happy when that good News reaches us.

I am, with sincere regard and esteem, Dear Sir,

Your affectionate Friend & Obedt hble Servt,

Robt Morris.

P. S. If you have made any Commercial engagements in which I am interested, you may depend on Punctual Compliance on my part, and I shall push away remittances on Public Account fast as possible.

To the Honorable Silas Deane, Esqr

Thomas Mss.

From Edward Bancroft.

London, 31st January, 1777.

Dear Sir,—I am very uneasy, Sir, at not having heard from you since my return here. All the letters from France by the last courier have been opened at

the Post Office, but they will not have found any thing wrong; the worst is that they will have kept my letters.

There is no kind of Relaxation here in Warlike preparations, and yet the Ministry have so contrived that but few People believe there is any danger of War; this indeed is necessary to them for the present, and until the Subscription to the ensuing Loan (of six Millions) be completed; as the money would, otherwise, be necessarily borrowed at 10 or 12 per Cent. greater Loss. Transports are getting ready to carry out the additional British and German Troops to America, and it is intended they shall all sail by the beginning of March. One Regiment will embark from the vicinity of Glasgow, so that certain people would do quite as well to wait until they are gone. Administration intend the Campaign shall be opened unusually early in America, and the operations directed wholly, and from all sides against New England; and they expect by early and vigorous exertions to crush the Northern Colonies, before they can be assisted from the Southward, and before any foreign relief can be given; and thus end the War. It is of importance that this Plan of Operations should be made known in America as early as possible, in order that N. England may secure necessary supplies of Flour, Troops, &c., from the other Colonies. A vessel, arrived at Cork from Rhode Island, has brought the news that General Clinton was embarking his troops to attack Providence, but I do not think he will care to attempt it before the spring. The state of politics here is in every way disagreeable: four-fifths at least of the English people despise us, and look upon us as cowards, and assert that we shall be beaten before the middle of the summer. The friends of America, on the other hand, are discouraged; those of the minority who have espoused the cause of the people, find that this cause is on the side of their adversaries. Rockingham's party has had a meeting, and wanted to make

a formal secession, and publish a declaration of their reasons for acting thus; but other branches of the minority opposed this as a useless thing, and adverse to the people in the present state of affairs, so that I think nothing will be done.

I am much puzzled about the real Intentions of the present Ministry in respect of their great and hasty Armaments—they certainly are too expensive to be mere scarecrows, and improbable, as on one account it seems, there is reason to believe that they intend when their present Loan is compleated, either attack France or, at least, to hold a very high Language to her. I have already informed you of the step taken by the Duke of Grafton with Lord Weymouth on the subject of the conduct of France. I do not know whether this was done on account of information received then, or for some other reason, but Certain it is that Lord Weymouth has of late seriously and warmly urged an immediate declaration of War against France, and though such Declaration has not been made, it perhaps is only suspended. At any rate France seems to have done enough to incur the utmost resentments of our king and Ministry, and if she should do no more, she will probably have reason to think she has done too much; as some of the friends of administration already insinuate that as soon as an accommodation with America can be effected, the whole of the British force in America will be suddenly transferred to St. Domingo, etc. It is said that the better to hasten an accommodation, offers of a more specific nature will be sent to America, perhaps, in the form of an Act of Parliament; as it is supposed that the Sword will soon have produced a Disposition in the Colonies to listen to them.

Wedderburne I understand has been some time essaying something of this nature.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 634.

To the Secret Committee of Congress.

Paris, 6th February, 1777.

Gentlemen,—The bearer, Mons. Holtzendorff, is a Prussian officer, who served the last war in Germany, and with reputation. Gentlemen of first character in the army here have recommended him, as an excellent officer both for skill and bravery. I take, therefore, the liberty of recommending him to the service of the United States. He leaves a Major's post here in the army of France, hoping by his services in America to advance himself beyond what he can expect in Europe in a time of peace. I shall as soon as possible send you a particular account of all my proceedings to the time of the arrival of Dr. Franklin, which I have in a great measure done already, though in detached parts in different letters, some of which may undoubtedly miscarry.

I am, with much respect, &c.

Silas Deane.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I., 103.

From Edward Bancroft.

London, 7th February, 1777.

Dear Sir,—I acknowledged last Thursday the receipt of your letter of the 26th. I have since received that of the 27th through Mr. Mease, but I have not heard of the one which you told me I was to receive through Mr. Holker, nor of R——ce, said to be sent by Mr. Greenwood.

My last letter of Friday was written in the belief that our Ministry, from the hasty and costly armaments, was seriously determined to make some direct and sudden attack on France, and I am now confirmed in that belief by several circumstances which have since come to my knowledge. Lord Mulgrave set sail a few days ago on the man-of-war "Ardent"; some frigates

have been despatched secretly from different ports, and have had orders to join him somewhere on the coast of Cornwall. This squadron, once united, has orders to go to the Bay of Biscay, and to cruise there, at a suitable distance, to intercept all the American vessels which come to France or Spain. This plan has been adopted on account of the report given to the Government by Sir Robert Herries and others, of a number of vessels, laden with tobacco, expected in France from Virginia and Maryland.

Whilst this is being done in Europe, Lord Howe has been ordered to send Captain Mowat (that miscreant who burnt Falmouth, and who, having been employed a long time on the sloop Canceaux, has a perfect knowledge of the coast of New England) to cruise with some frigates and sloops of war on the coasts of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, to intercept any vessels bringing from France arms and munitions to the United Colonies; and if any capture of this nature is made, I firmly believe that our Ministry (according to the present infatuation of the nation) thinks of following the example given by its predecessors in 1756, that is, suddenly to attack France without any declaration of war, to capture its vessels in all parts, and as was done then, to put her out of condition to withstand them. For such a violation of the laws of nations they want no other motives than those they hope to find in the captures which they suppose Captain Mowat will make, and they appear to be preparing, in these circumstances, to follow in the steps of 1756, as the citadels of Porchester and Winchester are being fitted up for immediate use, where the sailors taken in 1756 on French vessels were imprisoned, and it cannot be intended to imprison the American sailors there, for the Act of last winter expressly orders them to be distributed on the men of war and to be made to serve on them, which has since been carried out.

A person who had been described under the name

of John the Painter and who is supposed to have set fire to the storehouse of the rope yard, has just been arrested in Hampshire on suspicion of theft. But when he was arrested he asked the constable if he was the King's messenger, a question which is supposed to indicate a tacit acknowledgement of some state crime. This circumstance, joined to his resemblance with the man whose description has been given by the Admiralty, caused him to be immediately sent to London, where he has been twice questioned at Sir John Fielding's. The last examination took place to-day, but I do not yet know what has been the result of it. I have strong reasons for suspecting that he is the man who wrote certain letters which I left with you, but I shall soon find means to verify this fact. He has hitherto eluded all important questions, and denied that he has been to Portsmouth and Bristol, although there are proofs that he has been in both places. He says that perhaps he will have some disclosures to make, but that he sees no reason for making them yet. From that and other circumstances, the Ministry thinks that he means to wait and see if he is condemned, and then to endeavour to save his life by betraying those who employed him, and his accomplices, who, it is stated, are very numerous. You will see in the papers the detail of the different plans of a like nature which the Ministry gives as all true; and in order to inflame the nation, it is, or affects to be much alarmed, and has, in consequence, ordered that all the magazines, arsenals, &c., of Great Britain and Ireland should have a double guard; that new companies of marines should be raised, and it intends to place under arms at least a portion of the Militia. In addition to these extraordinary means, a Bill has this day been presented to the House of Commons to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in cases of suspicion of treason and piracy in America and on the high seas. It has been ordered to be printed and read for a second time on Monday. The minority being

all dispersed, there is no opposition of importance to be feared. The Government, seeing the people of England so well disposed in its favor and counting on subduing the Colonies immediately, is thinking, so I am informed on good authority, of giving free play to its resentment and of treating as pirates the officers of our privateers who have fallen, or who may fall, into its hands; and in truth, we cannot tell how far this may go if their arms still meet with success. 70 [Grand], 177 [Priestley], 31, and other friends of mine, have expressed for some days, and especially since the Bill to suspend the Habeas Corpus, great fears for my safety; and this morning 70 advised me very strongly to think of going soon to 68. I am not subject to unreasonable fears, and I do not think there is yet sufficient reason to profit by this advice, although I must confess that I think that before long the position of every faithful American will be dangerous here, and mine is even now extremely disagreeable. People of position in this country begin to think that it is unreasonable and even dangerous to keep up any intimacy with us, and my best friends, although they continue to show me hospitality, evidently desire to do it as secretly as possible, and one hears in public from those who are enemies of America nothing but insults and most insolent invectives against the colonists and their friends.

The likelihood of an early war in Europe, or the presumption that America will soon be subdued, has decided the administration, so I hear, to diminish the number of troops which it destined for America. I have just been told that no fresh regiments will be sent there, except a corps of Hessian chasseurs, which General Howe asked for expressly several months ago; only a sufficient number of German and English recruits will be sent to complete the different corps which are there. It is said, however, that a corps of Wurtemburgers is engaged conditionally, in the event of a war between England and France; but I think that

is uncertain. The information which 176 [Dr. Price] gave last week to 64 [Dr. Franklin] of the capture of Dr. Irving's vessel on the Mosquito coast and its consequences, is not true. At least from an inquiry which I got 70 to make, the 15 of 156 positively denies that any complaint has been made of it to his 38.

70 knows nothing of 150, but I suspect he is in London, because I am well informed that one of the officers who has left 50 has recently been sent here by 162. I will immediately verify the fact. I am glad you have decided to travel for your health, which deserves all your attention; but where are you going? Let me know and how I am to write to you.

I am very glad that 105 [Lee] is going to 165, and I am sure it will please 38 of 68, who is certain, according to what 70 tells me, that he communicates everything to his patron here to whom I know he has recently written.

I will certainly help the person of whom you speak in your letter of the 26th, if there is any means of doing it safely.

There is a Mr. Platt here, who was arrested in Jamaica, and has been brought here as an agent of the Americans. He is laden with irons in Newgate. He has but few friends and very little money. The Ministry has not sufficient proof to convict him but n accordance with the proposed Act it will detain him in prison. Would you and the Doctor think it desirable to give him some pecuniary assistance?

My proofs are not yet complete.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 635.

To General Conway.

Paris, 7th February, 1777.

Sir,—I received, last evening, yours of the 22d ultimo, and am surprised at the conduct of Mr. Du Coudray towards you. I never gave him orders to

dismiss you, but the direct contrary. I charged him to deliver you all the packets, letters, &c., entrusted to him in case he did not go himself; it never could enter the thought of any one to desire you to serve as a volunteer, much less into mine, after what had passed between us, and the esteem and confidence I had ever shewn you. Though you are now beyond the reach of counter-orders, and, I trust, out of the vexations of our embarrassments here, I can not let slip any opportunity of assuring you that what I said here to you are what I have wrote of you, are my real sentiments; and I have the pleasure to reflect that your conduct has never given me the least uneasiness or distrust, but that my confidence was well grounded. I wish you success, and am,

Your most obedt. humble servt.,

SILAS DEANE.

To Gen. Conway.

Sparks Mss., Harvard University.

TO COUNT DE VERGENNES.

Paris, 8th Feb., 1777.

May it please your Excellency,

By a vessel from Charlestown, So. Carolina, which place she left the 20th of December, We have intelligence that the Reports of an Indian Warr are groundless, every thing being in Peace with the Nations of Indians, & no hostilities of any Consequence had been committed.

The inclosed extract of a Letter from London [Bancroft, Feb. 7th] may be relied on, as it comes from a Person who has the best, & most direct intelligence of what passes in the Councils & among the Ministry of G. Brittain, and is perhaps deserving of your Excellency's earliest attention. On this supposition, I have taken the Liberty of transmitting it, & at the same Time of asking an interview as soon as is agreeable,

to inform personally of certain Circumstances of very great importance. The reason for asking a Time to be fixed, is that Too many Journeys to Versailles may give Suspicion, and my coming alone will answer the same purpose as if Dr. Franklin were with me, & draw much less attention, perhaps none at all. I have mentioned the same to Mr. Grand. I have the honor to be, with the most profound Respect,

Your Excellency's
Most Obedient &
Very Humble Servt.,
S. DEANE.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 637.

FROM THOMAS MORRIS.

Nantes, 10 February, 1777.

This will be, I hope, the last that I shall have the honour to write to you from this continent. M. du Coudray (whose difficulties are unexampled) is compelled to leave here three or four of his best officers through the troubles stirred up against him by several of his devilish enemies whom I will not name. This obliges me, through the interest I take in him, to trouble you with this letter and beg of you to give to these officers whom he is leaving behind, letters of recommendation for the Committee, or the Justices of the Peace in any town of the continent at which they may arrive, in order that they may have facilities for rejoining M. du Coudray and his park of artillery wherever he may be. Your noble way of thinking will make you see the necessity for such letters, which I should not ask of you were it not in favour of deserving persons.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 638.

From Thomas Morris.

Nantes, 13 February, 1777.

M. de Monthieu's vessel is almost finished lading and will be ready to put to sea about the 20th inst.; but I think we shall scarcely be able to get out of the river before the 25th if the wind favours us. A longer delay would be very prejudicial, and I could wish that we had left two months ago. If you have any letters to send let me have them in time. I shall make every effort to respond to the confidence which you, as well as others, have placed in me.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 639.

From Edward Bancroft.

London, 13 February, 1777.

You will have seen from the gazettes which I sent you by the last courier, a partial account of the loss which the Hessian brigade has sustained at Trenton, a loss which has just been confirmed by the man of war Experiment, arrived from Rhode Island; but I have grounds for believing that this loss extends to the English troops, and that it is more considerable than was at first imagined. We read in to-day's gazette a long account of the capture of Philadelphia and of General Lee, &c., but I know from a sure source that Philadelphia is safe, at least for this winter, and that the Government have received no despatch from any commander in America alluding to it. It is merely credited on the authority of a letter addressed here to Mr. Drummond by an aide de camp of General Clinton, which aide de camp professes to have received the news of it from an officer at New York.

All further operations at Rhode Island are suspended, Putnam having arrived at Providence with a body of 6,000 men. An expedition was, however, projected against Virginia, stated to be at the request of certain

inhabitants, but that is not probable. Five regiments are to be sent thither from Rhode Island, and Mr. Robert Herries thinks that they might at least seize a large quantity of tobacco, which he is under an engagement to supply to the Farmers General of France, by reason whereof he has sent out ships and agents, &c. I was informed a short time since, that Colonel Faucitt has gone to Wurtemburg there to negotiate more troops for America. The last from Hesse are only chasseurs. The loss which they have now sustained at Trenton will force the government to take into its pay more German troops than it had at first intended to do. The expedition planned against Virginia is only to last during the winter. All the forces will be conveyed in the spring towards New England, and I have grounds for believing that an enterprise of a very special kind is projected against New Hampshire. The friends of Governor Wentworth, having asked for leave in order to spend some time with him, have all been refused, it being alleged that his services were probably about to become very necessary in that province. Some members of the Administration have lately made here some secret and suspicious inquiries about General Sullivan. They are such as might lead one to suspect that they wish to obtain some service from him. But in this case conjecture is not enough. There is one direction where so much delicacy need not be employed ; a Mr. Parker Forth, an Irishman, has spent several months in Paris ; he is closely connected with Francois [Francy], secretary to Beaumarchais, and by means of him or others, he has, you may be certain as to the fact, furnished Lord Stormont with intelligence touching your operations. Sound Beaumarchais and Francois a little with regard to him. I was informed in good time of the intention to send him out, but my man was mistaken in the name, thinking that it was Torte instead of Forth ; that is why my inquiries with respect to him have been fruitless, but I have since then ascertained the truth. 162 has written here that 50 has not gone in the " Amphitrite." Is that true ?

I found means last Sunday to see O. [John the Painter], and if I am able, I will serve him. The gazettes have made mention for some time past of a certain James Hill, or John the Painter; they make no doubt that it is he who set fire to Portsmouth and to the rope-yards, &c., and I really believe that it is he, although there is no legal proof; but he will all the same, be hung for a robbery, for which he has been tried and convicted. All kinds of devices have been used to make him speak and to discover his accomplices, but he has confessed nothing.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 640.

From Robert Morris.

Philad^{a}., Feb'y 18th, 1777.

Honorable Gent^{n}.,—The enclosed Commission* was delivered to me by the Sec'y of Congress just before their retreat to Baltimore, and as I then sent my Books & papers into the Country for safety, this went with them, and this, the first conveyance that has offered since my papers were brought back, I embrace it to transmit the same; a duplicate will go by another opportunity. I am, Gent^{n}.,

Your obed^{t}. hble. Servt.,

To Rob^{t}. Morris.

The Hon'ble Doct^{r}. B. Franklin, Silas Deane & Arthur Lee, Esq^{rs}.

Thomas Mss.

From Caron de Beaumarchais.

Paris, ce 19 Fevrier, 1777.

Tous ces examens, ces inquisitions et ces visites d'armes et de marchandises, Monsieur, avaient sans doute un grand object d'utilité, puisqu'on les a crus nécessaires. Elles ont au moins servi à detruir toutes

* Appointing Mr. Lee joint agent with Thomas Morris at Nantes.

les malignes suspicions qu'on avait feint d'avoir sur la bonté des fournitures : c'est a dire en bon français, sur la probité de M. Hortalez, mais tout cela valait il le tems qu'on nous a fait perdre? et maintenent qu'on ne peut que se louer de moi, et que mes cargaisons sont reconnues excélentes : oserais je vous demander, Monsieur, a quel titre vous vous rendés si difficiles sur la tenue des mes engagemens quand vous n'avés encore rempli aucune de votres envers moi ?

Faites un peu, je vous prie, ce raisonement a M^rs^. vos collègues, qui savent bien critiquer ce qu'ils ne connaissent pas et qui refusent les egards de la plus simple politesse au plus utile ami de leur pays. Je vous parle, Monsieur, avec liberté, parceque mon ceur commence a s'ulcerer tout de bon. Le Mercure et la Seine sont partis, l'un du Havre et l'autre de Nantes, en une saison ou ils pouvaient aller en droiture au continent : mais quand les ministres qu'il a falu tromper sur le vrai chargement et la destination des deux vaisseaux s'en informent se rendront ils aussi faciles pour ceux cy, ce qu'ils sont bien loin d'etre pour les autres?

Je ne voudrais pas hazarder des richesses immenses comme est la cargaison de la Thérèse, dans la saison des grands jours, en l'envoyant droit au continent. L'Amélie et la Thérèse iront donc, si vous l'aprouvés, a St. Domingues. J'embarque sur l'Amélie Monsieur Carabasse, mon correspondant du cap, avec ordre d'y devancer l'arrivée de la Thérèse et d'y acheter 3 ou 4 batimens Bermudiens qui doivent faire la navette du cap au continent et vice versa, avec mes cargaisons divisées et les retours qu'on leur donnera, en les déposant dans les mains des commissaires du congrés, en attendant que le congrés lui meme arme des vaisseaux pour aller vider ce magazin du cap que j'aurais soin de tenir toujours pleins si l'on envoye promptement des retours convenables.

Ne me sachés pas mauvais gré de vous montres un peu d'humeur. Il est impossible que je n'en aye pas de voir que personne que moi ne fait rien ici pour le bien

de l'Amérique, et que je me suis epuisé d'argent et de travaux, sans que je puisse encore savoir si personne autre que vous m'en fait un peu de gré.

Vous connaissés l'attachement sincere avec lequel j'ai l'honneur d'etre, Monsieur,

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur,

CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

M. Silas Deane.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

TRANSLATION.

All these examinations, these inquisitions and these inspections of arms and of merchandise, Monsieur, have undoubtedly an object of great utility, since they have been thought indispensable. They have at least served to refute all the base suspicions which have been feigned as to the excellence of the articles furnished, that is to say, in plain French, as to the honesty of M. Hortalez. But was it worth the time that we have been forced to lose? And now that there can be only commendation for me and that my cargoes are admitted to be of admirable quality, may I presume to ask you, Monsieur, with what right you show yourself so exacting as to the fulfillment of my engagements, when you have not, as yet, responded to any of your own toward me? Impress this consideration somewhat upon Messieurs. your colleagues, who are ready to criticise what they do not understand and who refuse the commonest forms of politeness to the most useful friend of their country.

I address you, Monsieur, with freedom, for truly I am becoming embittered.

The Mercure and the Seine have gone, the one from Havre and the other from Nantes, at a season when they may make directly for the Continent; but when the Ministers, whom it has been necessary to deceive in regard to the lading and destination of two vessels, discover this deception also, will they be as

lenient toward these latter, since they are very far from being so respecting the others?

I would not risk immense riches, such as the cargo of the Therese, by sending it, while the days are long, directly to the continent. The Amelia and the Theresa therefore will go, if you approve, to San Domingo.

I send in the Amelia M. Carabasse, my correspondent at the Cape [Français] with instructions to precede the arrival there of the Theresa, and to buy three or four Bermudian vessels, to ferry my cargoes, divided into portions, and to return with the ladings that will be furnished, from the Cape to the Continent and vice versa, delivering them to the Commissioners of Congress, until Congress shall supply armed vessels to empty the magazine at the Cape, which I will be careful to keep always filled, provided that suitable returns be promptly forwarded.

Do not be offended that I have shown some ill humor. It is impossible that I should not feel a little, seeing that no one except myself does anything here for the good of America, and that I have exhausted my money and my endeavors without assurance as yet that a single person except yourself is in the least grateful to me.

You know the sincere attachment with which I have the honor to be, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

Mr. Silas Deane.

FROM EDWARD BANCROFT.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you this day se'n night through 70 [Grand], and by the return of your Friends Mess^rs. Holker & Sabbati, I am favoured with an opportunity of acquainting you that scarce any alteration has since happened—we have no arrivals from America & are, therefore, left in a state of the most tormenting suspense respecting what has happened there; nobody doubts, however, but the truth, when known, will prove un-

favourable to Government. O [John Aitken, alias John the Painter] is still in statu quo. A Noble Lord, formerly the close friend & Relation of 32 [Camden], had contrived a snare to deceive & betray him, & there is some reason to expect it will succeed. A Person who has a wife & family in America, was sent to O, with the appearance of friendly intentions, and as one coming from the Minority to contrive his deliverance; and to strengthen this appearance plans are frequently proposed & instruments brought (with an appearance of Concealment) as if to effect it, and at every interview the insidious pretended friend contrives to tell News, &c., and ask questions fitted to produce Emotions or draw forth expressions, from which (by close attention & examination) something may be discovered. Things relating to you, 105 & 106 [A. and W. Lee] are frequently mentioned to him; though nothing of any importance towards corroborating their unjust suspicions has yet been obtained. I should not say this much to you of one whom you never saw or heard of excepting from me, were it not that I suspect & fear the Fellow may at last, in a *vain* hope (for such it will prove) of saving himself, may be finally induced to charge ill designs upon somebody, and as there is the greatest disposition to believe that odious Plots are the contrivance of Americans, he will, perhaps, think it best to fix his charges in that quarter. What I write to you is known to but very few indeed; & I have come at the knowledge of it by great good fortune, joined with motives of Friendship; it must, therefore, be most cautiously concealed, as a discovery of my knowing it might ruin my friend.

The Treason and Piracy Bill will very shortly pass, and though it is so amended that persons who have never quitted the realm since the present War began are exempted from its operation, yet I and all who, like me, have been at sea below low water mark, or who have been for an hour out of Great Britain, are from the moment this Bill receives the royal assent, at the

mercy of Government. What use they will make of their Power I know not, but it certainly is very painful to reflect that we are to be subject to it. My own private concerns here are not yet brought to a situation suited for my leaving England, though, I hope, this will not be long the Case. But yet it does not seem likely that I can be of much use anywhere else. I confess that I would wish to avoid the necessity of changing my present place of residence, at least until some employment should offer in another. I shall write you again this Evening through 70 [Grand].

Pray, make my best Compliments to 33 [Carmichael]. I sincerely thank him for his Letter, & will return the favour in a day or two. 176 [D^r Price] has sent a quantity of News Papers; I shall also add by M^r. Sabbati a parcel containing 4 of D^r. Price's Pamphlets directed to some of his Friends. You will see by the inclosed card (drawn by a son of 177 [D^r. Priestley]) what Ideas are here formed of the appearance of 64 [Franklin] in his Canadian Cap. Make my most respectful Compliments to him. I am now sending to the Review some strictures of his antagonist the Dean of G [loucester—D^r. Josiah Tucker]. Nothing from you has come to hand since y^r. fav^r. of the 30^th. ult^o. Pray, let me hear from you as often as convenient, & I wish you now & then to write through 70, because he, I fear, suspects you do not do it from an apprehension of his opening your Letters.

I am, D^r. Sir,
your most Affectionate
& Devoted Humble Serv^t.
EDWARD BANCROFT.

To S. Deane.
Feb^y. 21^st., 1777.

Endorsed: From D^r. Bancroft,
London, 21^st. Feb., 1777.

Thomas Mss.